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# CHURCH HISTORY



Vol. IV

JUNE, 1935

No. 2

POST-WAR PROTESTANTISM

*Herbert W. Schneider*

POST-WAR EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCHES

*Matthew Spinka*

THE DONATIST CIRCUMCELLIONS

*R. Pierce Beaver*

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN TRANS-MISSOURI

*Don W. Holter*

IN MEMORIAM

BOOK REVIEWS

*Published by*

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Vol. IV	JUNE, 1935	No. 2
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## CONTENTS

POST-WAR PROTESTANTISM	
<i>Herbert W. Schneider</i>	87
POST-WAR EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCHES	
<i>Matthew Spinka</i>	103
THE DONATIST CIRCUMCELLIONS	
<i>R. Pierce Beaver</i>	123
THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN TRANS-MISSOURI	
<i>Don W. Holter</i>	134
IN MEMORIAM:	147
EPHRAIM EMERTON, PH. D.	
BOOK REVIEWS:	148
BARNES, G. H. AND DUMOND, D. L., eds.: <i>Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, etc.</i> .....	W. W. Sweet
CELL, GEORGE CROFT: <i>The Rediscovery of John Wesley</i> .....	A. W. Nagler
HOLLIS, CHRISTOPHER: <i>Thomas More</i> .....	M. M. Knappen
WADE-EVANS, A. W.: <i>Welsh Christian Origins</i> .....	J. T. McNeill

## CONTENTS

HAYDON, A. E., ed.: <i>Modern Trends in World-Religions</i> .....	Laurens H. Seelye
BINDER, L. R.: <i>Modern Religious Cults and Society</i> .....	Gaius Glenn Atkins
CONSTANT, G.: <i>The Reformation in England, I</i> .....	J. A. Muller
ROMIG, E. F., ed.: <i>William the Silent</i> .....	F. W. Loetscher
TURNBULL, G. A., comp.: <i>The Essence of Plotinus</i> ....	Matthew Spinka



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## POST-WAR PROTESTANTISM

HERBERT W. SCHNEIDER

*Columbia University*

The theme I propose to develop in this paper is that in the victorious and neutral nations the dominant ideals of post-War Protestantism have been carried over from before the War, that these led in the direction of Catholicism, but that in spite of its catholic ideals, Protestantism since the war has actually become more Protestant than before, not only in Germany where Protestantism has become aggressive, but also in the other nations where it is less self-conscious. In other words, Protestantism has been revived by force of circumstance in ways not of its own choosing; or, to use Protestant language, it has been saved by grace, not justified by faith.

Before I discuss the changes that have come over the Protestant churches since the war, let me comment on their prevailing resistance to change. The stability of the churches on the whole, intellectually, morally and economically must be amazing to those who expected them to be blown about by the winds of doctrine and the thunders of war. Nothing seems to prevail against them and though they ride the waves, they enjoy much the same security and complacency that characterizes the immovable church of Rome, founded on its rock. On the whole they have gained little and yielded little.<sup>1</sup> Few aspects of social life today are as stable as religion. Even in Germany where the

<sup>1</sup> For an analysis of the American churches the reader is referred to the admirable work of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, summarized in H. Paul Douglas and E. de S. Brunner, *The Protestant Church as a Social Institution*, N. Y., 1935. This volume emphasizes the measurable changes in recent decades, but on the whole bears out the above generalization. See especially pp. 43, 53, 99, 294-302. Certain special changes will be noted below. The decline in the rural churches is partly compensated by the slight growth in the urban churches—a shift which seems to be due less to the agricultural depression, than to the automobile. See p. 66.

*Austrittsbewegung* after the War assumed serious proportions and where confessional religion was generally believed to be doomed, the churches have shown a remarkable power of resistance. There are those who believed the War would immediately bring a religious revival and they are disappointed; there are others who regard this stability as the *rigor mortis* of a once living body; still others boast of the eternal life that keeps the church ever young yet never new. I refrain from passing judgment and merely call your attention to the fact that while the issues that I shall discuss are agitating the leaders and centers, the great mass of Protestantism has remained practically impervious to them. The momentum or inertia (as you choose) of the churches is amazing.

This said, let me now pass in review the dominant ideals of American and British Protestantism, remembering that these are not the ideals of the average Protestant, but the dynamic themes of Protestant leaders; and let me point out in each case that these ideals are not creations of the War but heritages from the preceding generation. First, the social Gospel. I need not recall its history nor explain that, with the exception of Germany, there has been no radical departure from its pre-War program. The content of this gospel has developed rapidly, so that today it is far more diversified and concrete than before the War, and no one can deny that the after-math of the War has given added impetus to its radical phases. For example, it was in 1913 that a Methodist men's convention endorsed a platform including "social redemption in all lines." Since the War such vague generalities have taken on more definite meaning. I venture a generalisation in this connection, though it is impossible to do so with great confidence. I think it is significant that this platform in 1913 was adopted by laymen, for recently the laymen have proved to be more conservative on the whole than their ministers. Now that the liberal clergy are giving teeth to their gospel, the business men in their congregations are hesitating.

More to the point, however, is the fact that even the concerted effort to promote international peace antedates the War. So general was this pre-War interest in peace that the War was frequently interpreted as the so-called "failure of religion." Though the American churches are today somewhat more outspoken on the issue than they were before the War, pacifism

in general is more wide-spread. It is probable, however, that when war or class struggle come again, the present pacifism of the churches will again be submerged by more militant methods of bringing in the Kingdom. Be this as it may, the churches have merely intensified their efforts in behalf of international peace and social justice since the War; they have neither abandoned them nor radically altered their character.<sup>2</sup>

A second Protestant ideal of today is the overcoming of denominational barriers and the united devotion of all Christians to common tasks. The movements toward Christian unity are of at least two types, the ecclesiastical and the social, or the Anglican and the Swedish; the one aims at reunion in the sense of the inter-communion of the Christian churches, the other, at a unified "conscience" (to use Söderblom's term), a working federation for the administration of common social enterprises, a Christian International. The one is ecumenical, the other missionary. The one culminated in the World Conference on Faith and Order at Lausanne, 1927; the other, in the World Conference on Life and Work at Stockholm, 1925. Both these movements antedate the War. The ecclesiastical ecumenical movement goes back at least to 1888 and the Lambeth Quadrilateral. At successive Lambeth Conferences as well as through less formal efforts the Anglican church tried to realize its claims to being a "bridge-church," a natural mediator between Catholicism and Protestantism, until in 1910, on the initiative of American Episcopalians, the proposal for a world conference to promote ecumenical unity was launched. The War delayed this proposal and increased some of the obstacles, but the movement was nourished continuously until it bore fruit in (or at least blossomed out into) the Lausanne Conference.

The growth of schemes for practical federations was similar. In 1895, the year of the formation of the World Student Federation, the National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches of England was formed, and a similar federation in France in 1905. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America was created in 1908. In 1910 the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh stimulated a demand for a world conference of Protestant churches to establish a unified program of social work. In 1914 the World League for the

<sup>2</sup> See W. W. Van Kirk: *The Churches and World Peace*. Pamphlet published by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. No. 304. Nov. 1934.

Friendly Cooperation of Churches was organized and cooperated with the Church Congress of Neutral Nations, especially at the Upsala Congress in 1917. Then came the Geneva Conference of 1920, the Central Bureau at Zurich (later Geneva) in 1922, the COPEC movement of 1924 in Great Britain, the Stockholm Conference of 1925, the ill-fated Interchurch World Movement and many other concrete evidences of practical cooperation among the Protestant churches. The details of this program changed as the social situation changed, but the general aim and the general means for realizing it have changed little since 1910.<sup>3</sup>

A third emphasis in recent Protestantism is the reconstruction of the missionary enterprise, especially in the Far East. The recent excitement about re-thinking missions has given the impression to those who have only a superficial acquaintance with the subject that a sudden crisis has developed in the mission field. The crisis has occurred rather in the home base, where both those who have supported missions with a romantic, evangelical enthusiasm and those who have persistently denied the value of missions have suddenly awakened to what the missionaries are actually doing. The transition from evangelistic

<sup>3</sup> I can not refrain in this connection from quoting a militant Protestant of more than a century ago, who objected even then to such "Catholicism:" "Unity of faith is the only proper basis of unity of spirit. Christians may be and must be united in affection, so far as they are united in sentiment; but so far as they are disunited in sentiment, they are and must be disunited in affection. There is, therefore, no propriety, nor prospect of success, in attempting to unite, the professed friends of Christ in brotherly love, without first uniting them in the belief of the same essential doctrines of the gospel.

"But supposing, that the whole Christian world could be brought to unite in affection, while they retain all their different and inconsistent opinions, it would be utterly wrong to attempt it. For, if Christians should form such a coalition, it would be criminal in itself, and highly injurious to the cause of religion. They would disobey the divine injunction, 'to be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment.' They would become an unchristian combination, to countenance and support each other in all their errors and delusions. They would, in practice, justify all the errors and delusions of Deists, Atheists, and Sceptics. And they would actually exercise that same kind of catholicism, which heretics and infidels have so long been pleading for, and by which they have done more mischief to Christianity, than by any other weapon, which they have ever employed against it. Under the pretext of promoting universal toleration, they have taught multitudes and multitudes, to extend their catholicism to disbelievers, deniers, and opposers of the gospel. This unlimited catholicism naturally tends to subvert the gospel, and to involve the whole world in error and infidelity. Let none, therefore, cherish this spirit, and strengthen the hearts and hands of the enemies of truth, by attempting to unite Christians in affection, without uniting them in the belief of the great and essential doctrines of Christianity." (Nathanael Emmons: *A Sermon preached before the Convention of the Congregational Ministers in Boston, May 31, 1804*, pp. 18-19.)

missionary tactics to the educational, medical and industrial programs typical of the mission field today has not taken place over night. It was well under way long before the War and it was effective in practice long before its theological and cultural implications were made explicit. The culmination of this process in oriental nationalism and secularism has at last awakened the churches at home to the realities of the new Orient. The missionaries, however, know that they themselves have played a significant rôle in the very process over which their supporters stand amazed. The situation is analogous to the amusing amazement of the British members of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts shortly before the American Revolution, when they discovered that their funds had been used in building New England rather than in converting the savages.

A fourth typical emphasis of recent American Protestantism is the thorough reconstruction of religious education. Here again, as in the case of missions, the foundation for this reconstruction was laid at the turn of the century and the War has had comparatively little effect on it. The depression has somewhat deflated an inflated enthusiasm in this field and has slackened the pace, but the work is being carried on along the lines mapped out by the older generation.<sup>4</sup> The transformation of the Sunday School from a Bible school for children into an educational program for the congregation was well under way in 1914.

In the fifth place, I call your attention to the current emphasis on the art of worship as the central need of Protestantism. The typical Protestant church service was losing its appeal and the emphasis on the sermon yielded to an emphasis on communion. Edification yielded to devotion. This trend is thought by many to be one of the things the War is supposed to have done for us, but it is worth remembering that this tendency too antedated the War. Even in the programs for religious education, where the spirit of worship has been least in evidence, several text-books on worship appeared about 1910. The Gothic revival in church architecture, the interest in vestments, liturgies, symbolism and the other aspects of ceremonial worship were evident in many ways before the War.

Closely related to this revival of worship is the cultivation

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<sup>4</sup> See Douglas and Brunner, *op. cit.*, pp. 163, 180.



of the theology of mysticism. Mysticism itself is not prevalent among Protestants, but the theory of mysticism is so popular that by many theologians and philosophers the mystic experience is interpreted, almost without fear of contradiction, as the very essence of religion in general. The works of Baron von Hügel, William James, Evelyn Underhill, Dean Inge, Rudolf Otto, Rufus Jones, to mention only a few of the philosophers in this field, are sufficient testimony to the importance attached today to the theory of mysticism; and at the same time the mention of these names is sufficient proof that this trend too was well established before the War.

Summing up these Protestant ideals that have survived the War, I venture to call them all catholicising. By this term I mean that, though they are not literally Catholic, they aim at some sort of catholicity. To define this aim, let me begin with the negative aspect, namely, that many Protestants have an inferiority complex. They resent being called Protestant. The term smacks too much of past history, of the revolt against the Roman church, of sectarianism, arguments from Scripture, debates about doctrine and all those traditional aspects of denominationalism that only the so-called Fundamentalists regard as fundamental. Several ministers whom I innocently, without intending the least offense, happened to call Protestants were evidently irritated. A few even suggested the urgent need of a new term, such as progressive, liberal, modern or reform Christian, almost anything but Protestant, anything to be rid of the implication of being either anti-catholic or non-catholic.

On the positive side, the desire for catholicity has taken three general forms: one ecclesiastical or sacramental, another mystical and philosophical, and a third social or secular. The sacramental form admits the value of what Protestants used to call "mere human additions." Over and above the dispute concerning the episcopacy and the value of church order and continuity is the recognition of the moral and esthetic values of liturgical worship, sacraments, the communion of saints, and of communion in general. The chief aim of this movement is to bring about inter-communion, not a reunion of the churches into a single church, but the spirit of Christian charity which will prompt the various Christian churches to recognize each other as true churches of Christ. This is not merely a fanatical wish for unity, it is a practical need for a united front against



common enemies. Churchmen of all churches have realized that internal divisions have undermined whatever moral and intellectual authority Christianity may claim, and that for a defensive fight there is strength in union. To this end of ecclesiastical rapprochement have tended not only the ecumenical movements which aim at it directly, but the united front in the mission field, the revival of liturgical worship, and even the theology of mysticism. For in these various ways the historical denominational barriers are being minimized in the interest of what might be called a positive catholic fundamentalism.

The theology of mysticism has fostered this catholicity all the more since it has found an ally in physical science. Those philosophers of science who have preached the mystical approach to nature as the inevitable and natural supplement to the experimental have given the impression that mysticism is the religion of scientists and hence the intellectual or "scientific" form of religion. It is assumed therefore, that the universality enjoyed by science is shared by the mysticism embodied in all religions. In this way the individual's most personal and incommunicable experience has become a more basic category for religion, and a more catholic one, than the creeds and sacraments of the churches. As a means of grace it is more tolerant, more personal, more inclusive, than the most catholic church, especially now that almost any serious-minded person with even the commonest faith and without interest in any known religion can call himself a mystic.

A more significant ideal of catholicity, however, than either the mystical or the ecclesiastical is the social or cultural. It is in one way the opposite of both; instead of restricting the essence of Christianity to the fundamentals, that is, to a least common denominator, it proposes to take a more aggressive stand and to make Christianity a type of civilization.<sup>5</sup> Christianity is to be a world-power, eventually *the* world-power. Humiliated by the weakness of the churches in the face of problems of war and peace, class conflict, poverty, injustice and violence, the preachers of the social gospel hope to take a definite stand on these issues along side that of the Roman Catholic

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Selbie in developing his thesis that "the only true catholicity belongs to the liberal type of Protestantism," attempts to unite the sacramental, the mystic and the social theories of catholicity when he writes: "All life is sacramental . . . The sacraments of the Church are symbols of *inward* grace." W. B. Selbie, *Positive Protestantism*, 1926, p. 13.

church, and in many ways at one with it. Thus Christendom would have a trans-national power and an inclusive moral authority. The same aim underlies the program of religious education. The old ideals of Bible school and Sunday School must give way to a culturally more inclusive program. Religion should be related to the daily curriculum of the school, if this is possible. If not, let the church school include nature study, national history and civic morality, art and drama, character building; let it be, in short, an inclusive moral influence. Similarly the institutional church undertakes whatever needs doing: clinics, employment agencies, gymnasia and bowling alleys, arts and crafts, suppers and dances, motion pictures, lectures and concerts, anything that will bring life (that is, young life) into the church.<sup>6</sup> For after all the church must live and hence must seek life where it can find it. In this way the secularisation of culture will be overcome not by opposing secularism,<sup>7</sup> but by bringing secular life into the church. This I take to be the fundamental significance of the social gospel: the secularisation of Christianity itself, in order that this self-sacrifice of the church, as it were, for the world may save the world for the Kingdom of God. For in heaven there is no church and the final aim of the Christian religion transcends the catholicity of its church and takes on the form of its Kingdom.<sup>8</sup>

## II

I have rehearsed too long perhaps the commonplaces of Protestant ideology. I come now to the more conjectural part of my theme and shall attempt to show that though these pre-War, catholicising ideals have survived in theory, the force of

<sup>6</sup> Douglas and Brunner list no less than 33 distinct types of activities carried on by modern churches. See p. 140.

<sup>7</sup> See the interesting analysis of the conflict between religion and secularism made by Rufus M. Jones at the Jerusalem Missionary Conference, 1928. Though this conflict is real, in the long run it is futile, for what is secular today may be sacred tomorrow and *vice versa*. Even the holiest of churches keeps aloof from the world only so long as there is a *secular* demand for aloofness.

<sup>8</sup> This secular ideal of Christianity is thus driven to its extreme form by such theologians as Rothe and Kutter who "predicted the disappearance of churches in the coming in of that ampler social and spiritual order known to believers as the Kingdom of God." See Adolf Keller and George Stewart, *Protestant Europe: its Crisis and Outlook*, 1927, p. 75.

In Germany the contrast between the ecclesiastical and the social conceptions of Christianity is stronger than in America, since there the Christian social work (*Innere Mission*) is an independent organization.

circumstance has been driving the Protestant churches, often in spite of themselves, toward Protestantism. Two basic traits of Protestantism will serve to illustrate this thesis: nationalism and evangelicalism.

That the War that was intended to promote internationalism has produced nationalism with a vengeance is now clear to everyone. The ecclesiastical aspect of this process is to be seen in the fact that most of the church federations since the war, though conceived on a universalistic basis, have been achieved on national lines. In 1922 came the German Evangelical Church Federation; in 1925 the United Church of Canada; in 1929 the reunited Church of Scotland;<sup>9</sup> in 1930 the Church of India; also in 1930 the United Lutheran Church of America. These are several outstanding illustrations of church organization proceeding along the lines of national states. In some cases they are interdenominational mergers, in others not. In all cases, however, they are national and represent what the Germans call *Volkskirchen*. It is now a minor matter whether they are established churches or not, for a state church may be regarded as merely one type of administration for a people's church. The principle that a religion should be an organ of a people's culture, parallel with the state, if not subordinate to it, is a Protestant principle now unrecognised in theory except in Germany and Italy, yet actually controlling the direction in which church federation is moving. Coleridge and Thomas Arnold had worked out a similar theory for the Church of England, but it seemed quite impractical until after the War, and even now it still seems fantastic, if not blasphemous, to those who can not take religious nationalism seriously. To them it seems pure paganism, an artificial revival of the civic cults of ancient Greece and Rome. It is, however, just as truly pure Protestantism, for though it does not literally imply the Reformation formula of *cuius regio, eius religio*, it is analogous to it and represents an extension of the Protestant conception of a church as a community of believers (*Gemeinschaft*) to the nation, conceived as a single community of faith and order. At the Stockholm Conference the exhibition of national differ-

<sup>9</sup> Principal Alexander Martin of New College, Edinburgh points out cannily and significantly: "In the event, the Church of Scotland has lost perhaps one sixth of its annual revenues. In circumstances very different, as the outcome not of an amicable negotiation but of a protracted political controversy, the church of Wales . . . was denuded of about one-fifth." In Sir James Marchant, *The Reunion of Christendom*, 1929, p. 201.

ences was freely indulged in <sup>10</sup> and at the Lausanne Conference these differences were likewise evident, not in the sense that they precluded further efforts toward Christian unity, but in the sense that any further efforts would be determined by national as well as by denominational lines of cleavage. The work of the Geneva Central Bureau is a clear indication of this fact, for the basic task of the studies there pursued is, as conceived by Dr. Keller, the definition and exposition of the *distinctive* contributions of the nations to Christian theology and life. In short, the problem is inter-national, rather than inter-denominational.<sup>11</sup>

English Protestantism is in a peculiarly critical situation with respect to nationalism, for, as the recent Prayer Book controversy showed, it is still vigorously opposed to the nationalism (or perhaps better the imperialism) of the Anglican bishops as well as to their catholicism. At present there seems to be no immediate prospect of religious unity in England, at least not on the Anglican basis of the *via media*. Possibly, with the territorial churches of Scotland, Wales, Canada and India setting an example, the dissenters will be forced into union with the Anglicans; if so, they will probably cease to be Protestant in name and will be merely national. But at present the avowed Protestants are the least nationalistic group in England.

To what extent nationalism motivates the Anglo-Catholic movement, the Lutheran High Church movement in Sweden, and the "evangelical catholicity" of the German High Church party, is a very debatable question. I know that almost all participants in these movements maintain vigorously that the interest in catholicity far outweighs the interest in nationality. I do not wish to attribute more than is necessary to the force of nationalism, but whether it operates as a conscious motive

10 Note Archbishop Söderblom's sophism when he reports that "the Conference unanimously avoided formal resolutions," (in his article on "Einigungsbestrebungen" in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*). The national differences that came to the surface during the discussion of tentative resolutions made it evident that it would be fatal to attempt formulae on which all could agree.

11 In 1919, when the British and American leaders of the ecumenical movement approached Archbishop Söderblom and his associates in making plans for the Stockholm Conference and suggested a union of the two movements for unity, the Archbishop promptly and wisely declined. He writes that the invitation was refused on principle (*grundsätzlich abgelehnt*) (see his article on "Einigungsbestrebungen" in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*), but any observant student can see at once that in addition to the differences of principle animating the two movements there was an element of national jealousy and international politics.

or not, certainly nationalism is responsible for much of the popular success of those who maintain that Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Russians, and Greeks have just as good a claim to catholicity as have the Romans.

Lastly, on the subject of nationalism, let me call attention to its growth in the United States. As one after the other of the nations with which the American churches have ecclesiastical affiliations organise national churches—Canada, Scotland, India, Japan, Germany—the Protestants of the United States are forced, whether they desire it or not, to organize on a national basis. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America is significantly American. Increasingly the various Protestant churches in America (excluding those Episcopalians who are more Anglican than Protestant) are approaching a common, American type. They are as yet not very conscious of the fact except when they are brought in contact with European churches, when they are expected to apologize for their "Americanisms." They realize that some of the traditional denominational lines are losing their meaning, but they still fail to see the positive direction in which they are moving. The very same liberal leaders in America who regard the idea of *German* Christians as almost sacrilegious, would rejoice and imagine the Kingdom to be practically at hand, if they could see a united American Christian church.

Such nationalism, I take it, is nothing new for Protestantism. The second way in which the Protestant churches are becoming more Protestant in spite of themselves is in the revival of evangelical religion. In this connection I must first of all take account of the German situation. The above thesis concerning the catholicity of Protestant ideals does not apply to post-War Germany. For in Germany the pre-War ideals were shattered. The realization of defeat came with sudden and overwhelming power and created a radical re-orientation of religious thought and feeling. In general, it is not war, but losing a war that creates a religious crisis. In the so-called victorious countries the realization of the cost of war, even of victory, is only gradually dawning, and what should ideally be a post-War period in the religious life of these nations is really a depression period. It takes an economic crisis to produce a spiritual one.

The crisis attitude and its theology which are undoubtedly



among the direct religious consequences of the War, constitute a dramatic revival of the evangelical phase of Protestantism. In place of the secular or wordly conception of the Kingdom of God, and in place of the confidence in its coming gradually as a culmination of social Christianity, has come a despair over the social order and an apocalyptic hope for a transcendent revelation, for a new heaven and a new earth, for the Kingdom of God that cometh as a revolution, at once condemning man's social self-righteousness by the word of judgment and offering the gift of grace to those who in humility repent.<sup>12</sup> Conceived at first in the atmosphere of social revolutionary thought, this gospel seemed to reconcile the Protestant theological orthodoxy with the left wing of socialism. But the course of events, especially in Germany, has compelled the theology of crisis to renounce its revolutionary social message and to assume increasingly the confessional and sectarian emphasis of the traditional evangelical churches. The recent definite break with the German Christians and with the state has freed the German Confessional Synods from their early concern for the national crisis so that now the crisis theology functions less as a gospel of comfort for a desperate people than as a gospel of resistance to a new national social gospel. In short, the sectarian atmosphere of the religious wars has been revived and there is now little hope for a socially catholic or inclusive national religion in Germany nor for a peaceful federation of Protestant churches. Protestantism is again a militant and disruptive force.

To have become socially catholic, Protestantism would have been compelled to become both bourgeois and proletarian. This it evidently attempted and in this it necessarily failed. Protestantism has seldom been able to compete with Catholicism as proletarian religion. It has had its stronghold among the middle classes and prosperous peasants and has failed to attract either the aristocracy or the urban proletariat. It has now been compelled to admit its social limitations and functions. Both in its civic and in its confessional forms, neo-Protestantism signifies a renewed moral consciousness in the middle classes, an unwillingness on their part to surrender to either the higher

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Gogarten's thesis that Protestantism represents man in his essential relation to God, that is, as condemned before the Eternal Judgment and willing to be so judged for the sake of redeeming grace. The actual world is God's world and the Protestant does not seek to escape it and flee to some ideal world. The Protestant hates illusion and can bear to face God's condemnation. See Friedrich Gogarten, *Der protestantische Mensch*.



or the lower dogmatisms. Its liberalism has itself become a mark of social ambition, if not of distinction, and its charity has something of that patronizing humility that betrays a spirit of benevolence toward those whom it distrusts rather than a spirit of forbearance towards those whom it loves. Its Protestantism is, like Luther's, a protestation of Christian liberty rather than a protest for social justice. What it has thus lost in humanity it has gained in fraternity, for all men are brothers but not to all men.

Though apocalyptic prophecy and evangelical religion will no doubt continue to have less meaning and less power in the other Protestant countries than in Germany, there is a noticeable current in this direction in all of them, especially in the last few years when men everywhere have begun to feel that a new deal must come soon and that when it comes it will come as a thief in the night. The feeling of moral and intellectual helplessness is almost universal and the religious expressions of the need for guidance are finding their place wherever the political faith in a leader has not usurped it. The cults of divine guidance, of sharing one another's burdens, of conversion and of personal salvation are now thriving in circles which before the War or the depression would have ridiculed the very ideas. Let me give but one illustration other than the Oxford Group Movement. I was speaking not long ago to a leading but discouraged practitioner of New Thought or Divine Metaphysical Healing. She told me that until a year or two ago the chief cause of her success was the general demand for a type of religious service that was as straightforward and business-like as medical service. Religious psychiatry and faith healing were conducted as a profession: the patient came to the practitioner, received treatments, paid his fee and departed in peace, possibly in health. Now all that is changed. "People want to *join* something," she said, "we shall be forced to organize churches, hold group services and give our patients the comforts and supports that the other churches give them." Similarly, I believe, if you look at the recent history of Christian Science, you will find that the *Church* of Christ, Scientist is more prosperous than the individual practitioners and that the emphasis on bodily healing is yielding to an emphasis on spiritual guidance and worship. All this is a sign of the revival of denominationalism and ecclesiasticism. The liberal preachers, who but a short

time ago were trying to save their churches by preaching that churches are not essential, are beginning to realize that their congregations have been coming to *church* in spite of their preaching and that religion without a church is like a substance without form. The Protestant churches and their activities have survived not merely because they are vested interests, and certainly not because of their endowments, but because churches as such are filling a need that is none the less real when it is inarticulate. In this sense, too, the Protestant theory of the church as itself a society or community (*Gemeinschaft*) is being resuscitated.

On the intellectual side, the revival of evangelicalism entails a revival of theology at the expense of the more secular philosophies and psychologies of religion. In Germany the return to theological language as a medium for expressing moral truth has assumed almost fanatic and grotesque proportions, for there the bitter strife of factions has its religious accompaniment in the form of highly technical theological polemics, the significance of which is no more apparent to the external observer than is the significance now of those fine distinctions for which men fought and died during the sectarian wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In Great Britain and America the comparative calm of the philosophy of religion still reigns. But already there are signs not only among the Anglo-Catholics, but even among the secularized modernists of a revival of distinctively theological concepts. In short, the effort of the churches to use the symbols of the natural and social sciences is yielding to a fresh appreciation of the uses of theological symbolism, and the attempt to be "scientific" is being abandoned in favor of the need to be prophetic.<sup>13</sup>

Though the revival of ecclesiasticism is usually regarded as favoring the High Church parties and the Catholic churches,<sup>14</sup> this is not necessarily the case, nor as a matter of fact, except in England, really the case. The Protestant mysticism that was supposed to bring in ritualism and sacramentalism has stopped far short of Catholicism and in many cases has taken a swing toward individualism. It culminates, for ex-

<sup>13</sup> For diversified examples of this tendency even among American theologians I might cite Reinhold Niebuhr: *Reflections on the End of an Era*, 1934; Joseph Haroutunian: *Piety versus Moralism*, 1932; and George C. Cell, *The Rediscovery of John Wesley*, 1935.

<sup>14</sup> See, e. g., Friedrich Heiler, *Evangelische Katholizität*, p. 201 ff.

ample, in what Rudolf Otto has termed the "sacrament of silence." The popularity of silent worship today is not to be attributed primarily to the growth of the Society of Friends or to oriental influence or to any other external factor, but to the need for a non-ceremonial form of confession and humility. It is supposed to be based on the theory of communion with God. It is rather, as in the case of the Friends, a waiting on the voice of the Lord, a prayer for inner light, a feeling of inadequacy and uncertainty. When prophecy becomes blatant, silence is golden; and the Protestant in these circumstances is more apt to enjoy silent prayer, "quiet times" (to use the technical term of the Oxford Group), simplicity and inarticulateness in worship than ceremonialism and the cumbersome silence of using a strange, sacred language.

Recent church architecture tells a similar story with its unconventional uses of conventions. There has been a trend within the last few years, first in Scandinavia and Germany, then in America and Great Britain, toward directness, simplicity and purity in church edifices. Both the "mystic" artificial Gothic and the business-like institutional church buildings are yielding to a fresh inspiration. The new churches reflect on the whole a renewed interest in reconciling the local traditions of Protestantism with modern technique. The Gothic is achieving new beauty where it is really at home, the Puritan meeting-house is being cultivated where it has genuine roots, and in general religious art is again becoming sincere. The churches are reflecting renewed life rather than endowed wealth, and character rather than convention. Thus not only worship but the houses of worship are reflecting not a Catholic mysticism but what, for want of a better term, is sometimes called objectivism or realism, and what might better be termed a bare beginning, a promise of better things. For at present the achievements in this direction, with a few notable exceptions, are pathetically inadequate to the good intentions that have failed to inspire them.<sup>15</sup>

Without further variations let me now repeat my theme. At the time of the War the Protestant churches had turned their faces away from Protestantism, but after the War, first in Germany and then less consciously in the neutral and victorious nations, circumstances have compelled them to abandon their

<sup>15</sup> On this subject see Bernard E. Meland: *Modern Man's Worship*, N. Y., 1934.

catholic ambitions and to return to the sectarianism of their fathers. The consequence has been, first, a merging of Protestant churches along national lines, closer relations between church and state, looser relations between the national branches of the trans-national denominations; and, secondly, the revival of the evangelical practises and theologies of grace, revelation and judgment, which, though orthodox in form, are intensely contemporary in meaning and feeling.

Though I ought to close with this analytical summary, I can not refrain from adding a value judgment, which reflects my prejudices though I hope it has not vitiated my history. Many lament the turn of events I have described as a failure of nerve and continue to hope that Christianity will cling to the catholic ideal of the universal Kingdom of God on earth in spite of the fact that secular forces are turning it the other way. Such a stand would, to my mind, doom Christianity to become a lifeless, though heroic, monument. There is no greater proof that religion still has vitality than the fact that it shares the vicissitudes of secular life. When religion ceases to be an effective expression of the conflicting emotions and ideals of actual human beings and is content to live its own life, cherish its own intransigency and pretend to possess eternal truth and moral authority, it is exchanging its living roots in the soil of human society for the marble foundation of an effigy. It is one thing to be founded on a rock; it is another to be a church of the living God. And Christianity can not afford to be catholic until secular society is also. Until then Christianity will be, in the words of the Puritans, "reformed from age to age."

## POST-WAR EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCHES

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From the downfall of the Byzantine Empire in 1453, the center of Eastern Orthodoxy slowly shifted from the Byzantine church, which suffered a tragic deterioration under the rule of the Turk, to the Empire of the Russian Orthodox tsars. Before the World War, the predominant rôle in numbers and resources as well as in spiritual and theological leadership was played by the church of Russia. Out of the total of some 144 millions of Orthodox adherents, the Russian membership comprised about 110 millions. By reason of its wealth and of the generous financial aid which it freely dispensed to the rest of the needy Orthodox communions, Russia exercised a far reaching, in some instances controlling, influence among them. Moreover, the Russian Slavophil theologians and publicists have been largely instrumental in the modernization of Orthodox theology which they have restated in modern philosophico-religious terms. In turn, the Russian thought has affected all Orthodox communions and has exercised a dominant theological influence over them.

The World War has produced another radical regrouping of the separate units of the Orthodox churches, and has once more shifted the center of gravity, this time from Russia to the Balkan peninsula. In accordance with an unwritten law in which the Erastian principle, so characteristic of Eastern churches, finds its expression, each independent political unit is accorded an autonomous or autocephalous ecclesiastical status. Accordingly, the creation of new states or expansion of the already existing ones has resulted in the organization of nine new Orthodox communions, while some formerly independent organizations have lost their separate existence and have been incorporated into larger national bodies. The net result of the various changes has been that the total number of the Orthodox communions has considerably increased: there are at present twenty-one autocephalous or autonomous Orthodox bodies, instead of the fifteen which existed before the War.



In order to divide the subject in some logical fashion, one might conveniently group the Greek churches together, for they in reality do form a self-conscious whole; the so-called Melkite group may be treated separately; the Russian church, and its successional ecclesiastical groups, form a separate group by reason of their historical sequence and territorial propinquity. The Balkan churches likewise form a convenient grouping.

To begin, then, with the group of Greek churches, we may first of all turn our attention to the patriarchate of Constantinople, the lineal descendant and heir of the Byzantine church. But this body, which had survived the fall of the Byzantine Empire and despite the prolonged misery and degradation suffered under the Turkish reign, had exercised ecclesiastical and civil sway over territories co-extensive with the Turkish Empire, scarcely escaped a total destruction when the new nationalist Turkey was set up by Mustapha Kemal Pasha. When the Kemalists refused to accept the Sèvres treaty and in the end raised a standard of revolt even against the sultan himself, Greece, under the leadership of King Constantine, ventured to attack the embattled hosts of the Turkish nationalists, a megalomaniacal venture which ended in a complete fiasco and cost the king his throne. The Greeks of the patriarchate remained loyal to Venizelos, thus antagonizing King Constantine; but despite this, they could not altogether refrain from following with patriotic pride or solicitude the fortunes of the Greek armies in Anatolia. Although Turkish subjects, they held commemorative services for the fallen, collected contributions for the war cause, and openly espoused the Hellenic "grand idea" of restoration of the Byzantine Empire.

It was under these conditions that the patriarchal see, vacant since 1918, was filled in 1921 by the election of the former Archbishop of Athens, Meletios. But the new patriarch's enthusiastic espousal of the Hellenic cause made his tenure of the patriarchal see quite impossible. After the debacle of the Greek armies in the disastrous battle of the Sakaria River in the autumn of 1922, Meletios' situation became desperate. The victorious Turkish nationalists openly announced their intention of wholly abolishing the ecumenical patriarchate, regarding it as a perpetual source of anti-Turkish agitation. At the Lausanne Conference in 1923, the British commissioner, Sir Horace Rumbold, had to exert all his diplomatic ingenuity



to forestall the radical measure insisted upon by the Turks. In the end, the patriarchate was permitted to exist, but it was shorn of all the civil jurisdiction over the Greek community which it had exercised for the past four centuries, and its functions were restricted to purely ecclesiastical ones. But in the matter of Patriarch Meletios' deposition, the Turkish delegation remained adamant. He had to go.

Beside these measures, the Lausanne Conference adopted a plan of forcible exchange of population between Turkey and Greece, from which none but the Greeks established in Constantinople and its immediate environs prior to October, 1918, were exempted. The exodus of the Christian population of Asia Minor in the wake of the defeated Greek armies as well as the forcible expulsion of the rest, in accordance with the population exchange measure, had a disastrous effect upon the ecumenical patriarchate; in fact it all but ruined it. Only four metropolitanates out of forty-one survived the measure, some of the ruined sees having been among the most ancient and celebrated, with traditions which went back to the times of Paul. The Orthodox population of Asia Minor and Thrace, which in 1914 had numbered 1,800,000, was reduced to between thirteen and twenty per cent (the church claiming 350,000, but the official Turkish count reporting 250,000). Even this number is continually dwindling, for the Greek population is moving out of Turkey. Thus the numerical strength of the ecumenical patriarchate has been so radically reduced that it now ranks among the smallest of the Orthodox communions.

The present patriarch, Photius II, who was elected in 1930, was able to establish a precarious *modus vivendi* with the Turkish government. Just because of the great diminution of the power and extent of the ecumenical patriarchate within Turkey, it strives with great earnestness to preserve for itself the traditional privileges inherent in its honorific status as the "*primus inter pares*" among the Eastern Orthodox communions. In this endeavor it has often exceeded its authority in acting as judge and arbiter in the various disputes or administrative changes which have taken place among the different Orthodox communions, over which, strictly speaking, it has no jurisdiction.

Passing on to the church of the Greek Republic, we observe that it, too, has greatly suffered on account of the interference of the state in ecclesiastical affairs. This subservience

was imposed upon the church in the first Ecclesiastical Constitution of 1833, and has remained operative with only slight modifications ever since. An excellent example of the working of this Erastian principle is to be seen in the post-War situation. When Eleutherios Venizelos set up his provisional government in 1917, in revolt against the anti-Allied policies of King Constantine, he was promptly anathematized by Archbishop Theocletos and many members of the Holy Synod. But after the expulsion of King Constantine and the seizure of the government by Venizelos, the tables were correspondingly turned upon the hierarchy: the archbishop with four of his colleagues of the Holy Synod was tried and sentenced to deposition and imprisonment. Thereupon the see of Athens was occupied by Venizelos' warm personal friend, the metropolitan of Kition in Cyprus, Meletios Metaxakis. But when the Venizelist régime fell after the elections of 1920, in consequence of which King Constantine was recalled to the throne, Archbishop Meletios was in turn promptly deposed, and Theocletos resumed his see. Many deposed bishops were likewise reinstated in their former office. King Constantine's hatred pursued Meletios even when the latter was elected patriarch of Constantinople. At the king's instigation, the Athens Holy Synod conducted a trial of Meletios *in absentia*, and sentenced him to deprivation of his sacerdotal offices and to monastic imprisonment.

The tragic and disastrous collapse of the Greek invasion of Asia Minor resulted in the second deposition and expulsion of King Constantine in 1922. A Revolutionary Committee took charge of the government, and in ecclesiastical matters reversed once more the official policies. It not only ordered the Holy Synod to withdraw the sentence passed upon Patriarch Meletios, but recognized him as the rightful ecumenical patriarch, and sent the patriarchate a subsidy of 1,200,000 drachmas. Archbishop Theocletos who refused to submit to these measures was once more deprived of his office.

He was succeeded by Archimandrite Chrysostom Papadopoulos (1923), an outstanding church historian, who has retained the see to the present. The new archbishop has made it his chief objective to secure a radical revision of the constitution of the church in order to make it as far as possible free to administer its own affairs. In 1923 he actual-

ly succeeded in securing the government's approval of a rather liberal Organic Charter which, however, soon proved unsatisfactory to the state. Two years later, dictator Pangalos reinstated certain features into the church constitution which subjected the church once more to a considerable degree of state supervision. Hence the Greek church is still far from being free as far as the administration of its affairs is concerned.

The Orthodox church of Cyprus, which was granted the right of autocephaly at the Council of Ephesus in 431, and has retained it ever since in spite of the violent vicissitudes through which it has passed, finds itself at present in a most abnormal and distressing situation. Cyprus, which has been a British crown colony since 1925, is inhabited by a population four-fifths of which is Greek. The Cypriote church, being the most important Greek institution of the island, has become the leader of Greek nationalism, which takes the form of a determined demand for union with the Republic of Greece. The English government, however, has shown itself adamant in its refusal to grant the demand of the Cypriotes.

This state of affairs finally led, in 1931, to an open revolution, headed by two metropolitans, Nicodemus of Kition and Macarius of Kyrenia. But the revolt was quickly quelled by troops which had been rushed from Egypt in aeroplanes. The two ecclesiastical leaders of the revolt were sentenced to perpetual banishment and transported to Gibraltar. A third hierarchy, just returning from London, was refused permission to land. Thus the Cypriote hierarchy was reduced to one lone metropolitan, Leontius of Paphos, and to Archbishop Cyril III.

When Cyril died in 1933, the Cypriote church faced a grave dilemma, since the Holy Synod did not possess a quorum for the election of his successor. Leontius, as the sole remaining metropolitan of the island, assumed provisionally the administration of the church. He requested the English government to permit the exiled hierarchs to return in order that canonical elections for the vacant archiepiscopal see might be held; but the request was refused. The suggestion that the patriarch of Constantinople appoint the archbishop was rejected, for what would then become of the autocephaly of the Cypriote church? Consequently the election was postponed *sine die*, in the hope that the English as usual would "muddle through" to some satisfactory settlement of the difficulty.

The Orthodox church of the Dodecanese Islands, which since the conclusion of the War have been an Italian possession, has just recently proclaimed its independence from the ecumenical patriarchate. This was done under pressure from the Italian government, which from the beginning of its administration desired to isolate the Orthodox church of the islands, and thus make it more amenable to its policies.

Let us turn now to the status of the Melkite churches—the patriarchates of Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch. As for the patriarchate of Alexandria, it must be borne in mind that its population is composed prevaillingly of immigrant Greeks, who are not citizens of Egypt. Their number is estimated at 80,000. To them are to be added about 20,000 or 30,000 Syrian Arabs, the majority of whom have become naturalized citizens. The two national elements have been for decades engaged in a violent struggle, for the Greek majority has been hitherto accustomed to control ecclesiastical matters too exclusively in its own interests. The present patriarch, Meletios, who was called to Alexandria after his expulsion from the ecumenical patriarchate, had to promise the Egyptian government to make concessions to the Arab element. He has been, on the whole, successful in his efforts to pacify it.

The patriarchate of Jerusalem has long been afflicted with the same nationalistic struggle, except that the conditions there are totally reversed: the Greek membership forms an insignificant minority, in fact is practically limited to some one hundred monks of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre, from which all the hierarchs are chosen. The rank and file of the parochial clergy and the laity are purely Arab by nationality. This being the case, it is almost certain that the Greek dominance over the church of Palestine must ultimately give way either to an out-and-out Arab control of the patriarchate, or to a radical modification of the Greek sway. During the stormy term of office of the last patriarch, Damianos (1897-1931), the Greek element succeeded in holding its own to a considerable degree, despite the many concessions made to the Arabs.

Another most serious source of disquietude for the patriarchate of Jerusalem is its grave financial situation which several times has threatened to bring about a total collapse of its financial structure. The patriarchate has always depended upon income from the numerous pilgrims thronging the holy

places, as well as upon subsidies from such powerful Orthodox countries as for instance Russia. But due to the poor financial management—if not mismanagement—of Damianos, the deficit had assumed considerable proportions even before the War; by 1917 it rose to the staggering figure of over \$700,000. Thereupon the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre desired to turn the whole financial management of the patriarchate over to the royal Hellenic government. But when Palestine became an English mandate, the new masters did not permit this measure which practically amounted to an alienation of the possessions of the patriarchate to the Greek state. Patriarch Damianos was deposed for the second time, but on this occasion for financial mismanagement. He again succeeded in forcing his own reinstatement, and the financial embarrassment was relieved by the English government which appointed in 1921 a financial commission, intrusting it practically with the task of receivership.<sup>1</sup> The commission is still operating, although in the face of much criticism, particularly because it has sold some lands of the Orthodox patriarchate to some Zionist organizations! Patriarch Damianos died in 1931, but no successor has been as yet elected because of the intransigency of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre, which refuses to make any concession to the Arabs. The latter, in turn, decline to take part in the election.

A similar struggle of the native population for the control of their church succeeded in the Antiochene patriarchate some thirty-five years ago. It was in 1899 that the age-long Greek hold upon this Syriac church was broken, when Meletios Damiani, an Arab by race, secured his own election as patriarch. The ecumenical patriarch, Constantine V, excommunicated him, and the rest of the Greek churches refused to acknowledge him. But after a schism lasting ten years, the latter were finally forced to acknowledge the *fait accompli*. Thus although Meletios had died out of communion with the Greek churches, his successor, Gregory IV, thanks to the pressure of Russia, was restored to communion. The see of Antioch has continued ever since as a purely native church.

The first of the third group under consideration, the church of Russia, is at the present of special general interest because of its tragic fate. The February Revolution of 1917,

<sup>1</sup> Bertram, Sir A. and Young, J. W. A.: *The Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem*. London, 1926.



which resulted in the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II, deprived the Russian Orthodox church of its temporal head. Accordingly, the ober-procuratorial rule in the Holy Governing Synod lost its logical justification. Hence it became imperative to set up a new form of church government.

It was with that in view that the national church Council of August, 1917, was called. It convened in Moscow, and held its sessions for a year.

Shortly after the Council had convened, the provisional government of Kerensky was overthrown in the October Revolution, and the Communist party seized the supreme power. Thus the whole situation as far as the church was concerned—as far as everything was concerned for that matter—was radically changed. The well-known uncompromising anti-religious attitude of the Bolsheviks resulted in giving cogency and effectiveness to the arguments of the conservatives that what the church needed was “a strong man.” Accordingly, while the Kremlin was being bombarded by the Bolshevik forces, so that many of the members of the Council abstained from attendance, a greatly attenuated session took the decisive step of reinstating the patriarchate and electing as its first occupant the metropolitan of Moscow, Tikhon. However, this kindly but weak monk was anything but a “strong man.”

The Soviet legislation regarding religion made its appearance in a surprisingly short time after the October Revolution, since the fundamental principles had been worked out long ago and had become already part and parcel of the communist philosophy. Not to mention the nationalization of all property, by which measure the church was deprived of all its possessions—lands, church buildings, theological academies, and every other form of property amounting in the aggregate to over sixteen million acres of land and eight billion rubles in cash; in addition to which the church lost the income from these vast possessions totaling five hundred million rubles annually—the fundamental decree regarding religious and ecclesiastical matters made its appearance in January, 1918.<sup>2</sup>

As could have been expected, this wrought most radical changes in the status and organization of the Russian church.

<sup>2</sup> For the full text, see my book, *The Church and the Russian Revolution*, N. Y., 1927, pp. 105 ff.



In the first place, the edict affirmed a complete separation of the church from the state, which carried with it as its corollary the loss of the state subsidy which in tsarist times had amounted to thirty-five million rubles annually. This measure involved the making of religion a private affair, and the deprivation of the church of the rights of a juristic person. Moreover, the enactment granted freedom of conscience and propaganda to religion of any proper sort—or irreligion of all sorts; this provision gave full religious liberty to the sectarians and the Old Believers and other groups which hitherto had suffered a certain degree of discrimination, as well as to the atheists who hitherto had not been tolerated at all. Furthermore, it disfranchized all clergy, thus making it impossible for them to obtain their livelihood in any other way than by voluntary support on the part of their congregations. The decree further enacted that every trace of religious symbolism and ceremonial must be removed from all public places. And lastly, the government deprived the church of its semi-official functions of registering births and marriages.

The second main division of the decree dealt with the separation of the school from the church: all schools were secularized, and the church lost its control over the parochial schools which comprised one-third of the total number; religious instruction of children in all schools and all churches was forbidden.

The property of the church was nationalized, but free use of the church edifices with their equipment was permitted, provided a group of at least twenty laymen applied for it and bound itself to observe all regulations governing the matter.

Patriarch Tikhon and the leaders of the church were strongly of the opinion that the Soviet régime would not last long; this conviction prompted them to take a decidedly hostile attitude toward it. It is therefore nothing strange that the patriarch denounced the Bolshevik measures as acts of spoliation and of persecution of the church, excommunicated their authors, hurled his anathema against the government, and called upon the faithful not to cooperate with "these monsters of the human race." The church's anathema was accepted by the government as a tacit declaration of war, for the potential power of the church was by no means despicable. Moreover, since the church drew into its ranks some of the chief opponents

of the new régime, it came to be regarded—rightly or wrongly—as the chief potential counter-revolutionary force. On the other hand, as the numerically insignificant Communist party resolved to retain its power at all costs, and its own professed creed required a ruthless application of force for the extermination of its class enemies, it is easily understood that the struggle which ensued has been grim and violent.

The struggle entered upon a new phase in 1921 when a famine of unprecedented magnitude overwhelmed the Volga region. The Soviet government utilized this disaster in order to further its anti-ecclesiastical policy. Early in 1922 it issued an order for the "removal" of all superfluous church treasures in order that the proceeds of their sale might be used in aiding the famine sufferers. The vessels and utensils in actual liturgical use were exempt from this order.

Patriarch Tikhon chose this occasion to defy the government. He issued a pronouncement branding the seizure of church treasures as a sacrilege, and threatening the clergy who permitted the removal with unfrocking, and laymen with excommunication.<sup>3</sup> The great majority of the Russian clergy obeyed the orders of their chief hierarchy; some of the higher clergy even instigated active resistance to the execution of the order, a measure which resulted in arrests and bloodshed. The authorities seized this auspicious opportunity to deal the church a smashing blow; thousands of arrests of laymen, clergy, and hierarchs were made. The most outstanding trials were those at Petrograd and Moscow, and altogether hundreds of the accused were sentenced to death or long term imprisonments. Shortly afterwards, Patriarch Tikhon himself was arrested.

This crisis produced a schism within the church: a small group of clergy protested against the patriarch's policy on the ground that it was not the church's business to interfere in politics. After Tikhon's arrest, this group succeeded by unscrupulous methods in seizing the supreme power in the church. The leaders of the revolutionary ecclesiastical government represented various mutually opposed groups, such as the Living Church, the Ancient Apostolic Church, and the Church Regeneration. After a period of "purgation" lasting about a year, during which the Tikhonite hierarchs, opposed to the new

<sup>3</sup> Spinka, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-177.

masters of the church, had been generally dispossessed of their sees and their places had been filled by partisans of the reformists, the leaders thought it safe to convene a Council which would regularize their seizure of power.

This was the second Russian national Council which met in Moscow in May, 1923. The reformists were entirely in control of this meeting which was really quite uncanonical. The patriarch, who was still languishing in prison, was tried *in absentia* on the charge of "counter-revolutionary" policies, and deposed "as a traitor to the church." Furthermore, the patriarchate itself was abolished, and the governing function was intrusted to the Supreme Ecclesiastical Administration composed of select members of the three reforming groups. Moreover, the new church leaders expressed their loyalty to the Soviet government in terms which can be characterized only as extravagant, servile, and obsequious.

But alas! The patriarch whose death sentence had been daily expected was released from prison, having signed a document acknowledging his counter-revolutionary activity and promising good behavior in the future. The calculations of the Bolsheviks that the patriarch, if released, was likely to cause a schism in the church, were fully realized. Upon his release, Tikhon instantly denounced the Council of 1923 as uncanonical, pronounced all its decisions invalid, and excommunicated its authors and adherents. Another "Great Schism" was consummated!

Patriarch Tikhon died in 1925, and in his instructions written some time before his death he counselled the church not to try to elect a new occupant of the patriarchal throne, for too many hierarchs were in prison or in exile, but to acknowledge one of the three hierarchs nominated by him as "the keeper of the patriarchal throne." The choice fell on Metropolitan Peter, whose administration, however, did not last long. He was arrested in December, 1925, on a charge of treason preferred against him by a bishop.

Upon his arrest, Peter designated Metropolitan Sergius of Nizhni Novgorod as his substitute. But the new head of the patriarchal party was restrained by the Soviet authorities from removing to Moscow and setting up the necessary administrative apparatus. Consequently, the central administration of the

church practically ceased to function. In the end, Sergius instructed each bishop to administer his eparchy independently, in accordance with the canons.

Nevertheless, realizing the harm and uselessness of the anti-governmental policy hitherto pursued, and desiring to improve his own sorry status, Metropolitan Sergius issued, in July, 1927, a declaration which radically reversed this policy. In behalf of his party, he unequivocally recognized the Soviet régime, and ordered all clergy and lay members to give their adherence to the government. Incidentally, this *volte-face* in the policy of the patriarchal party removed the only important difference between itself and the synodical party; but unfortunately, the passions engendered in the early days of the schism did not permit the two parties to reunite their forces, despite the fact that at present they differ on no major issue except the questions of married episcopacy and second marriage of the clergy. Sergius' decree likewise ordered the Russian clergy abroad on pain of excommunication to adhere to the requirements of the new policy. The request was indignantly rejected by the Karlovtsi Council in Yugoslavia, which exercises authority over a considerable portion of the Russian émigrés in Western Europe. This group preferred to cut itself off completely from the Russian mother church. Sergius' demand was complied with in a modified form by Metropolitan Eulogius of Paris. But when the latter was deposed by Sergius for having attended a church service in London at which prayers were offered in behalf of Russia, he likewise renounced his obedience to the Russian patriarchal party and submitted to the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople.

If the patriarchal party had hoped that by its concession to the government a permanent *modus vivendi* between church and state might be established, its hopes were destined to be sadly disappointed. As a part of the general policy of furthering the communist objectives, the Five-Year Plan, adopted in 1929, comprised a radical change in the religious policy. This was subsumed under the general heading of "the struggle on the cultural front," which aimed at indoctrination of the populace in communism. Dealing specifically with the anti-religious aspects of this program it may be noted, first of all, that in by far the larger part of the Soviet Union the constitutional provision guaranteeing religious freedom was

radically restricted. Thus Article IV of the Constitution of the R. S. F. S. R., which is the largest republic of the Union, has been changed to read as follows:

For the purpose of assuring real liberty of conscience to the workers, the church is separated from the state and the school from the church; and liberty of religious confession and anti-religious propaganda is granted to all citizens.<sup>4</sup>

Three other Soviet republics have incorporated the same legislation into their constitutions, although the remaining four have retained the original form, granting liberty of confession and propaganda to religion and atheism alike.

What the "real liberty of conscience" looks like may be seen from the legislation issued on April 8, 1929, which in article 17 defines its limitations:

Religious organizations are prohibited: (a) from forming mutual aid associations, co-operatives, productive associations, and generally from making use of the property in their care for any purpose except the satisfaction of their religious needs; (b) from rendering material aid to their members; (c) from organizing special prayer and other meetings for children, youth, and women, as well as general Bible studies; also literary, handiwork, industrial, religious and other meetings, groups, circles, departments, as well as from organizing excursions and children's playgrounds, from opening libraries and reading rooms, from organizing sanatoria and medical aid.<sup>5</sup>

Thus freedom of religion in most of the Soviet Union republics amounts to no more than the right to hold bare religious service.

But even a more serious curtailment of religious liberty is specified in the prohibition of "religious propaganda." The leaders of militant atheism are willing to permit the older generation to retain whatever religious views they may hold, provided the younger generation be not "contaminated" thereby. With this objective in view, a veritable persecution broke out, the brunt of which has been borne by the sectarians who had been more successful in gaining converts. Lay members were discriminated against economically—by losing their jobs, and their children, if attending church, by being expelled from school. The observance of Sunday was made difficult by the change of the seven-day week to a five-day week at first, and at present to a six-day week.

<sup>4</sup> *Constitution of the Union of S. S. R.*, Moscow, 1933, p. 22 (In Russian).

<sup>5</sup> Hecker, J. F., *Religion and Communism*, London, 1933, p. 291.



Besides these effective measures, the government resorted to the closing of a large number of churches, so that at present only about forty per cent of the total number are still functioning as places of worship. The proportion of city to rural churches shows a great inequality, for of the former class about eighty per cent have already been closed. The leaders of militant atheism are planning to close all churches throughout the country within the present decade.

It may be remarked that lately the furious tempo of the anti-religious propaganda has slowed down considerably, not because of any minimizing of the importance of the work, but because of the prevailing conviction that the task has already been accomplished.

Besides the negative or destructive aspect of the anti-religious propaganda, an extensive positive and constructive program has been pursued. The Union of Militant Atheists has grown sixty-nine times its size since 1926, and numbered in 1932 5,500,000 members, besides 2,000,000 children under fourteen. Practically sixty per cent of the total membership are children and young people under twenty-two years of age. The Red Army likewise affords a convenient opportunity for anti-religious propaganda, and the same has become true of the collectivized and state farms. Of course, the school and the various organizations for children and young people succeed in making convinced, i. e. thoroughly indoctrinated, communists of practically all who come under their influence. It may be safely affirmed that the hundred million young people under twenty-five years of age who comprise slightly less than two-thirds of the population of the Union have already become for the greatest part sympathizers, and in many cases enthusiastic supporters, of the communist régime and share its anti-religious attitude.

Last of all, the leaders of atheism have been from the first clearly conscious of the enormous influence of literature. The figures relative to the extent of atheistic propaganda by means of literature are truly staggering; during the last decade, there were published in the Soviet Union twelve hundred anti-religious books and pamphlets, circulation of which has reached forty million copies. It must be remembered that against this intensive literary output not a single religious publication has been allowed to appear.

Such then is the tragic situation of the Russian Orthodox church. There is no doubt that if the Soviet government continues its present policy, the time will soon come when the external organization of the church will be destroyed and the churches closed. That does not necessarily imply, however, that religious life will altogether disappear. That depends upon its vitality and genuineness.

Closely connected with the fate of the Russian church is that of the Orthodox church of the Socialist Soviet Republic of Georgia. This formerly independent country was annexed to Russia in 1801, and its church became subject to the Holy Governing Synod of Russia. The World War brought Georgia a short period of liberation; in 1918 its national parliament proclaimed Georgia an independent republic, and the church quickly followed suit, renouncing all dependence upon the Russian patriarch. But in 1921 the Bolshevik Red army conquered the country and made it one of the constituent republics of the Soviet Union. The church was subjected to practically the same treatment accorded it in the U. S. S. R., although at present liberty of conscience and propaganda are granted to all citizens.

The other succession Orthodox churches, formed in countries which had formerly been in part or wholly provinces of the Russian Empire, are the churches of Finland, Estonia, Lithuania, and Poland. Little need be said regarding the first three churches, except that finding themselves cut off from the mother church of Russia, and in countries which are dominated by an intense fear of the Soviet Union, it was necessary for them to organize themselves separately. This they did in 1923 when they appealed to the Holy Synod of Constantinople for recognition as autocephalous churches. The latter granted them only an autonomous status, subject to its own supreme oversight.

As for the Orthodox church of Poland, this organization merits a more extended treatment. When the Republic of Poland was created after the War, it included in its boundaries some 3,400,000 Orthodox Ruthenians, who were subject to the Russian patriarch. The Polish Ministry of Confessions could not tolerate such a divided allegiance and determined to create an autocephalous Polish Orthodox church. It found a man

willing to cooperate in the project in a Russian émigré bishop, George, who was made an archbishop. In 1921 Patriarch Tikhon was prevailed upon to raise George to the post of exarch of Poland. Thereupon, the next year, George proclaimed the Orthodox church of Poland autocephalous. The fierce opposition which this high-handed act aroused was quelled by persecution, but resulted in George's assassination (1923). But his successor, Dionysius, was able to secure, in November, 1924, a recognition of the autocephalous status of his church from the ecumenical patriarchate.

The most serious problem facing the Polish Orthodox church arises out of the attitude of the Roman Catholic church toward the question of church properties; on the ground that during the tsarist domination many Roman Catholic churches had been converted into Orthodox, the Catholic hierarchy now demands restitution of such alienated properties. In 1929 Metropolitan Dionysius stated that already a half of the total number of the Orthodox churches had been adjudicated to the Roman Catholics; the same process of alienation is going on in respect to the monasteries.

The Balkan group of Orthodox churches, by reason of the eclipse of the Russian church, has become the most numerous and the most important in the entire confraternity of Orthodox communions. The largest of the Balkan units is the Rumanian church. As the result of the World War, Rumania more than doubled its territory, and has likewise consolidated several formerly separate church organizations into one national Orthodox church. The unified body now boasts of between twelve and thirteen million members. The four previously separate Rumanian churches which compose the new national body are: the Holy Synod of Bukharest of the old kingdom; the Holy Synod of Sibiu which comprised the Rumanian Orthodox population of Transylvania; the metropolitanate of Bukovina which had formerly been a part of Austria; and the metropolitanate of Bessarabia which had been a part of the Russian church. It required a period of six years before the conflicting interests could be adjusted and the unification accomplished. But finally in 1925 the law consolidating the national Rumanian Orthodox church and making it "dominant in the state," while the Uniate was granted the status of "priority among other cults," was promulgated.

The growth of national consciousness is reflected in the ambitious project of creating a patriarchate, which was effected by the vote of the Parliament in February, 1925. Since Rumania had never possessed a patriarchate, the step had to be justified in some way. A plea was put forth that since the Russian church had lost its leadership, Rumania, as the next largest Orthodox body, should assume the hegemony. Of course, the fact that Serbia had revived its defunct patriarchate of Pech had much to do with stimulating the *amour-propre* of the Rumanians who would not allow themselves to take a second place among the Balkan churches.

The first patriarch of Rumania was chosen in the person of Miron Cristea, who with the recognition of the ecumenical patriarchate was installed in his new office by the king of Rumania.

A similar expansion of territory and consequent accession of power and dignity was experienced by the church of Serbia. With the unification of the Serbo-Croatian-Slovene people into one kingdom, the idea of the restoration of the ancient Serbian patriarchate of Pech was soon revived. It had been considered even in 1879 when the Serbian church had gained its autocephaly, but nothing came of it because of the opposition of the ecumenical patriarchate. But after the World War the opportunity to carry the plan into execution seemed too good to be neglected. The project was carried out by consolidating the various church organizations of the component parts of the new state into one unified national Serbian Orthodox church. The new ecclesiastical body consists of six different formerly independent units: the metropolitanate of Serbia, the autonomous church of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the patriarchate of Karlovtsi which had exercised spiritual sway over the Serbs in Southern Hungary, the autocephalous church of Montenegro, the two eparchies of Dalmatia (Zara and Kotor) which had been subject to the metropolitan of Bukovina, and finally the newly acquired territories in Macedonia, the ecclesiastical rights over which were purchased from the ecumenical patriarchate in 1920 for the sum of a little less than \$100,000. The unification of these various parts was proclaimed on June 30, 1920, and the patriarchate of Pech was re-established in the autumn of the same year. The first patriarch was chosen in the person of the metropolitan of Belgrade, Demetrius, who was installed

in his office with great pomp and circumstance in the ancient monastery of Pech by King Alexander.

Patriarch Demetrius died in 1930, and for his successor King Alexander chose Metropolitan Barnabas, who was one of the three candidates nominated by the electoral college. He had come from the Macedonian see of Skoplye, where he had earned for himself a reputation for unscrupulous handling of the Macedonians, ill-disposed toward their new Serbian rulers. It is possible that this reputation recommended him to the king.

Although, of course, the Czechoslovak Orthodox church does not belong among the Balkan churches, it may be treated here because of its close connection with the Serbian church which has done much to help in organizing and maintaining it.

When the republic of Czechoslovakia was organized in 1918, the Ruthenian territory south of the Carpathian mountains, formerly a part of Hungary, was united with it. The population of this territory was originally Orthodox, but the Austrian government imposed uniatism upon it. When they received religious freedom within the Czechoslovak republic, their true sympathies were quickly revealed in a popular mass movement of return to Orthodoxy. By 1920 the number of the Orthodox amounted to 50,000, but they possessed only two priests. In the meantime there developed in Bohemia an anti-Roman reformist movement which was at first pro-Orthodox. The leaders of both the Bohemian and the Ruthenian Orthodox movements appealed to the Serbian church for organizational aid. This was given them by Bishop Dositheos of Nish, who was sent to Czechoslovakia for the purpose. The Ruthenian movement grew by leaps and bounds, so that at present it comprises about 150,000 members. Bishop Dositheos at first procured Serbian priests for the new field, but at the same time organized schools for the education of a native priesthood. This new church in Ruthenia represents a clear gain to Orthodoxy. The Bohemian reformist movement soon manifested its fundamental positive divergence from the doctrinal teachings of the Orthodox churches, and split into two groups—the great majority forming the Czechoslovak church which is modernist, and only a small group, at present amounting to about 20,000, remaining true to the original pro-Orthodox orientation. Thus there are at present two Orthodox eparchies in Czechoslovakia:



one for Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, and the other for Ruthenia.

The Bulgarian Orthodox exarchate which in 1872 proclaimed its independence from the ecumenical patriarchate and in consequence has ever since been regarded by the Greek churches as a schismatic body, has suffered diminution of its territory as the result of the World War. The outstanding event in the post-War history of the Bulgarian church is the Council of 1921, convened by that dynamic, energetic, reformist prime-minister, Alexander Stambolisky. He attempted to impose certain democratic reforms upon the church, and to make it an instrument of popular education. Although the Council passed the reforms Stambolisky demanded, they were never enacted into law, because he was assassinated before the Parliament approved the decisions of the Council.

Finally, a short mention must be made of the latest of the independent Balkan Orthodox churches, that of Albania, which despite the energetic opposition of the ecumenical patriarchate proclaimed itself autocephalous. The patriarchate and other Orthodox churches refused to recognize its independent status, and treat it as a schismatic body.

Such then is the post-War situation of the Eastern Orthodox churches. It is to be regretted that lack of space does not permit an analytical study of the predominant trends. Suffice it to say that on the whole, Eastern Orthodoxy has lost more than it has gained. The ruin of the Russian church must prove an irreparable loss, for there is no Orthodox nation large enough to be capable of taking over the leadership hitherto provided by it. The second serious loss to Orthodoxy is the destruction of the Christian churches of Asia Minor, and the consequent weakening of the ecumenical patriarchate. The leadership has clearly shifted to the Balkan churches, which, however, exhibit too many elements of weakness to give much hope of an effective and successful performance of the duties of such a rôle. The three chief Balkan churches—Rumanian, Serbian, and Greek—represent three widely different and mutually antagonistic racial and national cultures, and this antagonism is likely to more than counterbalance any unity which their common religious tradition might afford. Separately, any one of them is too weak to perform the task of leadership with any great de-

gree of success. If the Christian East could overcome its mutual antagonisms and jealousies and make the ecumenical patriarchate the cultural and administrative center of a confederation of autonomous churches, such a step would be the best means of overcoming the present disorganized state of the Christian East.

## THE DONATIST CIRCUMCELLIONS

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Donatism was an exclusively African schism and for more than a century held the center of the stage in the Christian life of that land. It was born of local passions and quarrels, and had no success outside of Africa. It became the church of the native population and, raising "altar against altar,"<sup>1</sup> successfully opposed both the Catholic church and the Roman Empire during several generations. Frequently, and especially in Numidia, the church of Donatus was more numerous, richer, and more powerful than its Catholic neighbor. Moreover, the Donatist cause came to shelter under its name a true social and economic revolt, which it found a useful instrument at times, but which was never a recognized part of its policy. Although the Donatist controversy was thus a local schism, it had important results for the Latin church, chiefly in regard to the doctrine of the sacrament of baptism, the orders and reception of schismatics and heretics, and the coercion of non-Catholics.

This schism was born at the moment when peace came to the church and, therefore, robbed Africa of its full share of the benefits of the new relations between church and state. Its immediate causes lay in the persecution of Diocletian, during which the civil officials tried to avoid making martyrs, and instead sought to break the morale of the Christians by closing their churches, preventing preaching, and by destroying all copies of the sacred Scriptures. This policy was rendered more difficult of execution in Africa than elsewhere because of the fanaticism of a numerous class who sought martyrdom. Charges brought by fanatics and malcontents against Bishop Mensurius of Carthage, his successor Caecilian, and certain of the latter's consecrators, were the given reasons for the schism,<sup>2</sup> but the

1 Augustine, *Epistulae*, 43. 17, 76. 2 (CSEL, v. 34 (2), pp. 99, 327). [In the following notes the *Epistulae* of Augustine will be cited as *Ep.*; Optatus, *De Schismate Donatistarum*, I. 19 (CSEL, v. 26, p. 21). [Hereafter cited as Optatus].

2 For the history of the schism see volume IV of Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*.

duration and success of Donatism can not be explained by them.

These gave birth to the schism, but it was sustained by the underlying forces which are to be found in the psychological, political, and especially in the social state of the country. One must remember the character of the African Christians, the passionate temper which they shared with their pagan fellows, the fanatical expression of their devotion extending even to voluntary martyrdom, their intransigency, their devotion to local traditions, and their desire to manage their own affairs. Yet more important than these in the century-long support of Donatism by the native masses was the wide-spread economic misery. With this misery the church, directed by Latin clerics, was identified in the minds of many.

The Romanization of Africa had never been more than a thin and partial veneer. The ruling class of Roman or Italian stock was not numerous in comparison with the natives of the Punic and Berber races. The sea-ports and a few inland towns had a considerable population of Roman officials, agents, and business men, but the basic elements were still Punic, and in the rural districts entirely non-Roman. Racial friction had never entirely subsided, and now in the period of the Empire's decline it was stimulated by the ever-growing mountain of legislation with which the government afflicted the provinces, and by the increasingly marked distinction between the economic state of the masses and their Roman masters. The Punic-speaking natives<sup>3</sup> were not slow in giving their allegiance to that church which was in truth national, and which opposed the church of their Latin-speaking superiors. This identification of the Catholic church with the state was further confirmed in the minds of the native population by the increasing ecclesiastical jurisdiction in secular affairs, particularly those of a judicial nature, as the administrative structure of the Empire disintegrated. Finally, no doubt as to the alliance remained after imperial legislation favored the Catholic church and placed at its service the civil and military forces of the state.<sup>4</sup> Africa

<sup>3</sup> *Ep.*, 66, 2; 108, 14; 209, 2-3 (*CSEL*, v. 34 (2), pp. 236, 628; v. 57, p. 348); Augustine, *In Johan. Ep. Tractatus*, II, 3 (*PL* v. 35, p. 1191).

<sup>4</sup> The periods of imperial persecution of the Donatists were 317-321, 347-362, and following 411. Throughout the entire period there was a steadily increasing mass of legislation against the party, and it is too detailed to review here.

was primarily an agricultural province, and its crops were demanded for the provisioning of Rome and Italy, even more exclusively now that the grain of Egypt went to Constantinople. During the fourth century all those who were in any way involved in the process of supplying the capitals with food-stuffs were more and more firmly chained to their trades by imperial measures, and the burdens became almost intolerable at times. As elsewhere in the Empire, under the economic pressure which resulted from the continuously increasing impoverishment of the provinces and the ever heavier burden of the taxes, the curiales disappeared from the towns and the small farmers from the country; the land was more and more consolidated into isolated, independent, and self-sufficient domains. The dispossessed and poor sought the protection of the great proprietors and entered a state of serfdom. These landlords were Romans, and frequently non-residents, until the invasion of Italy drove them to Africa. By the generosity of those nobles who were Christians, the church, too, became a proprietor, and the ill-feeling of the serf for his master was not often lessened by the fact that the master was a bishop. Baxter states: "It has been often suggested that the most formidable heresies that confronted the Church arose in those provinces where Hellenistic or Roman culture was least assimilated, in Arian Egypt, Monophysite Syria, and Donatist Africa, and here, at least the union of orthodoxy with the State brought to a head that national feeling which was already partially aroused by the heavy burden of taxation, the compact and depressing system of land-holding, and the undoubted increase of economic difficulties. Donatism began within the Church; it ended as a social revolution."<sup>5</sup> Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the distressed element of the population saw in the Donatist cause a spiritual and moral justification for its insurrection, and Donatism made willing use of that revolt which had not been a part of its original policy. This revolt took the form of Circumcellionism.

The Circumcellions were remarkable bands of nomadic terrorists, recruited at haphazard from the dregs of the population, from the discontented of every native race and province, fugitive slaves, ruined farmers, oppressed colons, outlawed criminals, social failures, excommunicated Catholics, and pure-

<sup>5</sup> Baxter, *Select Letters of St. Augustine*, p. xxxii.



ly religious fanatics.<sup>6</sup> They spoke Punic.<sup>7</sup> Their leaders were frequently Donatist clerics.<sup>8</sup> Above all they were the self-appointed defenders of the church of Donatus, and called themselves *Agonistici* or *Milites Christi*.<sup>9</sup> They were dubbed *Circumcelliones* by the Catholics because of their nomadic life in the rural districts where they found shelter in the peasants huts.<sup>10</sup> This appeal to, or at least approval of, brutal force and popular fanaticism is that which above all has discredited Donatism in the eyes of later ages, and is that which compelled Saint Augustine to approve of a policy of coercion. Although the church of Donatus sometimes disowned them, the Circumcellions were always its "advance guard,"<sup>11</sup> and its instruments of hatred and vengeance. Without the support of these wild bands Donatism would soon have been crushed by the machinery of the state.

The first troops of these *Milites Christi* appear to have arisen in 317 following Constantine's order to hand the Donatist churches over to the Catholics.<sup>12</sup> Thereafter they appear throughout the course of the following century, showing more than usual violence at all times of crisis. A second outburst of Circumcellion fury occurred at the time of Constantine's death, when the Praetorian Prefect Gregorius applied severe measures.<sup>13</sup> During the following years the most renowned chiefs of the Numidian bands were Axido and Fasir, who rapidly acquired a sinister reputation.<sup>14</sup> The insurgents became bold enough even to oppose regular troops. Some of the schismatic bishops became so alarmed at the excesses of their allies, that they asked Count Taurinus to intervene, and in the ensuing battle the Circumcellions were routed and massacred. Although

<sup>6</sup> *Ep.*, 35.2; 108. 14; 185. 12, 15 (*CSEL*, v. 34 (2), pp. 28, 628; v. 57, pp. 11, 14); Optatus, III, 4 (*CSEL*, 26, pp. 82-4).

<sup>7</sup> *Ep.*, 108. 14 (*CSEL*, v. 34 (2), p. 628).

<sup>8</sup> *Ep.*, 81. 1, 6, 7; 105. 3; 108. 14; 111. 1; 133. 1; 134. 2; 185. 25 (*CSEL*, v. 34 (2), pp. 407, 412, 413, 597, 627, 643; v. 44, pp. 80, 85; v. 57, p. 24); Augustine, *Contra Crescon.*, III, 43. 47; IV, 51. 61 (*PL*, v. 43, pp. 522, 580-1); *Breviculus Collationis*, III, 11. 21, 22 (*PL*, v. 43, pp. 635-6); Optatus, III, 4 (*CSEL*, v. 26, p. 81, 83).

<sup>9</sup> *Ep.*, 108. 18 (*CSEL*, v. 34 (2), p. 632); Augustine, *Enar. in Ps.*, 132. 3 (*PL*, v. 37, p. 1732); Optatus, III, 4 (*CSEL*, v. 26, p. 81).

<sup>10</sup> Augustine, *Contra Gaudent.*, I, 28. 32 (*PL*, v. 43, p. 725); *Enar. in Ps.*, 132. 3 (*PL*, v. 37, p. 1732), Nam Circumcelliones dicti sunt, quia circum cellas vagantur.

<sup>11</sup> Monceaux, *Hist. lit. de l'Afr. chrét.*, IV., p. 179.

<sup>12</sup> Augustine, *Contra Ep. Parmen.*, I, 11. 18 (*PL*, 43, p. 47).

<sup>13</sup> Monceaux, *Hist. lit. de l'Afr. chrét.*, IV., p. 31; Kidd, *Hist. of the Church to A. D. 461*, II, p. 112.

<sup>14</sup> Optatus, III, 4 (*CSEL*, v. 26, p. 82).

the bishops condemned them, their followers venerated them as martyrs.<sup>15</sup> During the revolts of Firmus and Gildo the *Agonistici* and the majority of the Donatists supported the rebel chiefs, and in the time of the latter they found their most notorious leader in Gildo's satellite, Bishop Optatus of Thamugadi. He recruited bands of Circumcellions and for ten years terrorized Numidia. Escorted by his henchmen, he went constantly through the land, pillaging villages, ransoming cities, intervening in all manner of private affairs, persecuting Catholics, imposing his whims everywhere.<sup>16</sup> After the defeat of Gildo he was arrested and died in prison.<sup>17</sup> Through the first half of Saint Augustine's episcopate one constantly encounters the roving bands, and the Conference at Carthage in 411 called forth their last great outburst of terrorism.<sup>18</sup> Repressive measures followed, but one still hears of Circumcellions in 418.<sup>19</sup>

Numidia was the stronghold of the Circumcellions and, therefore, Hippo constantly felt their presence. They are mentioned frequently in Saint Augustine's correspondence.<sup>20</sup> Not only did the schismatic bishop of Hippo have their support, but his regular followers were more numerous than the other party when Augustine succeeded to the Catholic throne.<sup>21</sup> The reversal of this situation<sup>22</sup> in the face of Circumcellion activity was by no means one of the lesser of the great churchman's achievements. In 395 the Circumcellions damaged the church at Asna and destroyed the altar. This led to the trial of the guilty ones, and Saint Augustine feared reprisals.<sup>23</sup> The new bishop of Hippo soon made himself so feared and hated by the

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ep.*, 43. 24; 51. 3; 53. 6; 76. 3; 87. 4, 5, 8; 108. 5 (*CSEL*, v. 34 (2), pp. 106, 147, 157, 327, 400, 401, 404, 616); Augustine, *Contra Lit. Petil.*, I, 24. 26; II, 23. 53-55; 28. 65; 37. 88; 39. 94; 52. 120; 103. 237 (*PL*, v. 43, pp. 257, 276-9, 281, 291, 293, 301, 340); Monceaux, *Hist. lit. de l'Afr. chrét.*, IV, p. 65.

<sup>17</sup> Augustine, *Contra Lit. Petil.*, II, 92. 209 (*PL*, v. 43, p. 330).

<sup>18</sup> *Ep.*, 133; 134; 139. 1-2; 185. 30 (*CSEL*, v. 44, pp. 80ff, 148-50; v. 57, p. 28); Augustine, *Contra Gaudent.*, I, 6. 7 (*PL*, v. 43, p. 709); *Gesta cum Emerito*, IX, (*PL*, v. 43, p. 704); Possidius, *Vita Aug.*, 15.

<sup>19</sup> Augustine, *Gesta cum Emerito*, IX, (*PL*, v. 43, p. 704); Monceaux, *Hist. lit. de l'Afr. chrét.*, IV, p. 94.

<sup>20</sup> *Ep.*, 23. 6-7; 29. 12; 35. 2; 43. 24; 76. 2; 88. 1, 6-8; 93. 2; 105. 3; 108. 14, 18; 111. 1; 133. 1; 134. 2; 139. 1-2; 185. 12, 25-27, 30, 41; 209. 2 (*CSEL*, v. 34 (1) pp. 70, 72, 122; v. 34 (2), pp. 28, 106, 327, 407, 412-15, 447, 597, 627, 632, 643-4; v. 44, pp. 80-81, 85, 148-150, v. 57; pp. 10-12, 14, 24-25, 28, 36, 348).

<sup>21</sup> *Ep.*, 93. 17 (*CSEL*, v. 34 (2), pp. 461-2).

<sup>22</sup> Even in the most remote districts of the diocese. *Ep.*, 209. 2 (*CSEL*, v. 57, p. 348).

<sup>23</sup> *Ep.*, 29. 12 (*CSEL*, v. 34 (1), p. 122).

rival sect that the Circumcellions decided to do away with him. Several times he was waylaid, and once the ambush would have been successful if Augustine's guide had not fortunately lost his way.<sup>24</sup> After the facts were known, the Catholics regarded this as an instance of divine intervention.<sup>25</sup> In 403 the Circumcellions maltreated a priest, a converted Donatist, during the twelve days they held him prisoner.<sup>26</sup> In nearby Calama, Augustine's friend and biographer, Possidius, was waylaid by a band under the command of a priest who was a relative of the Donatist bishop of the place. He escaped from the road to a neighboring domain, and the house in which he sought refuge was set on fire three times.<sup>27</sup> After the edict of union of 405<sup>28</sup> the violence increased.<sup>29</sup> The Donatists of Hippo were not persecuted to an extreme degree in the execution of this measure;<sup>30</sup> their churches were confiscated, but the bishop remained in residence, and the priests were not dispossessed.<sup>31</sup> However, the law was the signal for renewed activity by the fanatics.<sup>32</sup> In 406 the Catholic clergy of Hippo protested to the Donatist Primate of Numidia that his clergy and Circumcellions were raging against them in a new persecution of unparalleled ferocity.<sup>33</sup> The wild bands beat to death certain of the Catholic clergy and slew others with the sword.<sup>34</sup> Other victims were blinded with lime and acid. Houses of clerics were pillaged, and the Circumcellions stalked about the diocese armed with formidable weapons and "breathing out threats of slaughter, rapine, burning of houses, and blinding of eyes."<sup>35</sup> These acts

24 Augustine, *Enar. in Ps.*, 54. 26; 132. 6 (*PL*, v. 36, p. 645; v. 37, p. 1732); *Enchiridion*, XVII (*PL*, v. 40, p. 239); Possidius, *Vita Aug.*, 12; Cf. *Ep.* 88. 6 (*CSEL*, v. 34 (2), p. 412).

25 Possidius, *Vita Aug.*, 12.

26 *Ep.*, 88. 6-7 (*CSEL*, v. 34 (2), p. 412-413); Augustine, *Contra Cresc.*, III, 46. 50-47. 51 (*PL*, v. 43, pp. 523-5).

27 *Ep.* 105. 4 (*CSEL*, v. 34 (2), p. 598), Possidius, *Vita Aug.* 14.

28 *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, 5. 38, 6. 3-5; *Ep.* 88. 10; 185. 26 (*CSEL*, v. 34 (2), p. 416; v. 57, p. 26). This formal outlawry of Donatism brought into the Catholic fold so many of the wavering and moderate classes who were alarmed at the growing fury of the Circumcellions that Saint Augustine was at last wholeheartedly converted to the policy of coercion.

29 *Ep.*, 88. 1, 6-8; 105. 3-4; 108. 14-16; 111. 1 (*CSEL*, v. 34 (2), pp. 407, 412-415, 597-8; 627-30, 643-4).

30 *Ep.* 88. 8 (*CSEL*, 34 (2), p. 414).

31 *Ibid.*

32 *Ep.*, 86; 88. 8-12; 105. 3; 106; 107; 108; 111. 1 (*CSEL*, v. 34 (2), pp. 396-7, 414-418, 597, 610-11, 611-12, 612-34, 643-4).

33 *Ep.*, 88 (*CSEL*, v. 34 (2), pp. 407-419).

34 *Ibid.*, 8 (p. 414).

35 *Ibid.*

were repeated in other bishoprics,<sup>36</sup> and at Thibilis, Bishop Simplicius, a feeble old man of ninety, was reduced to the status of a catechumen and then rebaptized.<sup>37</sup> In 409 the Proconsul Donatus initiated a campaign against the *Agonistici* by the proclamation of an edict on the application of the laws.<sup>38</sup> The provisions were so severe that Saint Augustine thought it wise to encourage Donatus to be moderate and merciful and not to inflict the death penalty.<sup>39</sup> At Sinitum near Hippo the Donatist priests issued an audacious proclamation, and addressed Augustine in most abusive and menacing terms.<sup>40</sup> He responded with an *Advertisement* to the Donatists in which he urged them to come into the church and justified the repressive laws.<sup>41</sup> This led to the usual violence, but now the acts of the Circumcellions reacted to the discomfort of the Donatist prelates, who feared the application of the legal penalties. They, therefore, opened subscription lists to indemnify the proprietors who had suffered loss.<sup>42</sup> Just at this time the Donatists of Hippo received a new bishop, Macrobius, who made a triumphal entry into the city escorted by the "Soldiers of Christ," singing their usual chant of *Deo Laudes*.<sup>43</sup> One of his first acts was the rebaptism of a Catholic sub-deacon.<sup>44</sup> This stimulated his ferocious allies to acts of bestial cruelty so great that Saint Augustine informed a correspondent who lamented the barbarian invasions, that the ravages of the invaders would seem light in comparison with those of the Donatist terrorists. What barbarian would be so fiendishly cruel, blinding, beating, and wounding the clergy; plundering and burning houses; robbing granaries, and pouring out oil and wine; and, by threatening to do this to all others in the region, compel many to be rebaptized?<sup>45</sup> The forty-eight inhabitants of one small village were thus coerced.<sup>46</sup> The answer of the Circumcellions to the Conference of Carthage and the edict of 411 was their last outburst of terrorism. Led by

36 *Gesta Collat. Carth.*, I, 139, 187-189, 201 (Mansi, v. IV., pp. 123, 137-142, 149-153).

37 *Ibid.*, 188, 197.

38 *Ep.*, 100. 2 (CSEL, v. 34 (2), p. 538); Cf. *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, 5. 44.

39 *Ep.*, 100 (pp. 535-538).

40 *Ep.*, 105. 1, 4, 17 (CSEL, v. 34 (2), pp. 595-6, 597, 610).

41 *Ep.*, 105 (pp. 595-610).

42 *Ep.*, 108. 18 (CSEL v. 34 (2), p. 632).

43 *Ibid.*, 18 (p. 632). Saint Augustine says that this "war-cry" was more dreadful than the roaring of the lion. *Enar. in Ps.*, 132. 6 (PL., v. 37, p. 1732).

44 *Ep.*, 106; 107; 108 (CSEL v. 34 (2), pp. 610-634).

45 *Ep.*, 111. 1 (CSEL, v. 34 (2), pp. 643-4).

46 *Ibid.*

clerics the Circumcellions harassed the region about Hippo. The priest Restitutus was slain, and another, Innocentius, was mutilated. The criminals were tried and condemned by the Proconsul Apringius, brother of Marcellinus;<sup>47</sup> but Augustine urged a modification of the extreme penalty.<sup>48</sup> Elsewhere the Circumcellions made night attacks, burned priests' houses, and threw Catholic manuscripts of the Scriptures into the fire.<sup>49</sup> They killed bishops and clerics, put out the eyes, and tore off the hand and tongue of one bishop.<sup>50</sup> Former Donatist churches in Carthage which had been delivered again to the Catholics were burned.<sup>51</sup> One still hears of Circumcellion violence in 418,<sup>52</sup> about 420,<sup>53</sup> and even under the Vandal domination.<sup>54</sup>

From the beginning Circumcellionism took and kept the character of a *jacquerie*,<sup>55</sup> a social rebellion of the peasantry. Goaded by economic misery and slavery, the Circumcellions attempted to reform society. They were not content only to dominate the country-side, to pillage and burn the farms and villages, to kill or mutilate those who displeased them; but they posed further as the redressers of wrongs, and as the defenders of the oppressed. They drove to revolt the colons on the great domains, the farmers, the slaves, and the natives.<sup>56</sup> They raged against the wealthy, especially the great proprietors;<sup>57</sup> and, even when they had no grudge against an individual and did not know him, they took pleasure in humiliating him if he belonged to this class. If they met a man who was riding in a vehicle, they forced him to descend and give place to one of his slaves while he himself ran before in the manner of his servitors.<sup>58</sup> By the use of intimidation, usually in the form of threats of death or

47 *Ep.*, 133. 1; 134. 2; 139. 1-2; 185. 30 (*CSEL*, v. 44, pp. 80-81, 85, 148-150. v. 57, p. 28).

48 *Ep.*, 133; 134 (*CSEL*, v. 44, pp. 80ff, 84ff).

49 *Ep.*, 185. 30 (*CSEL*, v. 57, p. 28).

50 *Ibid.*

51 Augustine, *Contra Gaudent.*, I, 6. 7 (*PL*, v. 43, p. 709).

52 Augustine *Gesta cum Emerito* 12 (*PL*, v. 43, p. 706).

53 *Ibid.*; *Contra Gaudent.*, I, 22. 25 (*PL*, v. 43, pp. 720-21). About 420 to 423 there were still a number of fugitive remnants of the wandering bands. *Ep.*, 209. 2 (*CSEL*, v. 57, p. 348).

54 Victor of Vita, *Hist. Persecutionis Africae Provinciae (De Persecutione Vanadalica)*, III, 10 (*PL*, v. 58, p. 225-6); Monceaux, *Hist. lit. de l'Afr. chrét.*, IV, p. 180.

55 Monceaux, *Hist. lit. de l'Afr. chrét.*, IV, p. 181.

56 *Ep.*, 108. 18; 185. 15 (*CSEL*, v. 34 (2), p. 632; v. 57, p. 14); Optatus, III. 4 (*CSEL*, v. 26, pp. 81ff); Monceaux, *Hist. lit. de l'Afrique chrét.*, IV, p. 182.

57 *Ep.*, 108. 18; 185. 15 (*CSEL*, v. 34 (2), p. 632; v. 57, p. 14).

58 Optatus, III. 4 (*CSEL*, v. 26, p. 82).



burning, the Circumcellions extorted large sums of money from the proprietors,<sup>59</sup> or compelled them to liberate slaves or satisfy some other whim.<sup>60</sup> They took debtors under their protection, and forced the creditor to cancel the debt by destroying or handing over the document which proved the debt. If one resisted, he was certain to be visited with night attacks and even the burning of his house and farm buildings. Sometimes they went so far as to reduce a wealthy man to slavery and force him to turn the mill.<sup>61</sup>

These audacious attacks against the rich, often to the advantage of the poor and oppressed, won for the Circumcellions the loyalty of a large portion of the rural population. They seldom ventured into the towns, but the rural districts were absolutely under their control.<sup>62</sup> Ordinarily the magistrates had little desire to invade their domain to bring them to justice, and the tax-farmers and fiscal agents no longer attempted to collect the imposts in these regions.<sup>63</sup> The interest of the emperors in the suppression of the Circumcellions was due to this state of affairs perhaps even more than to religious considerations.

This social revolution was not a part of the regular Donatist policy and was never officially sanctioned by the schismatic church. Nevertheless, the Circumcellions were first and foremost not social revolutionists, but religious fanatics. They were exalted Donatists, in their own opinion the very flower of the church. They were "soldiers of Christ," the army of "saints," and their commanders were the "chiefs of the saints."<sup>64</sup> The majority of them had taken vows of virginity or chastity, and they regarded themselves most favorably in comparison with the Catholic monks and nuns.<sup>65</sup> One of their most marked characteristics was an aspiration to martyrdom, which they believed

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> *Ep.*, 185. 15 (*CSEL*, v. 57, p. 14).

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> Augustine, *Contra Lit. Petil.*, II, 83. 184 (*PL.*, v. 43, pp. 316-317); *Contra Cresc.*, III, 42. 46 (pp. 520-21); *Ad Don. Post. Col.*, 17. 22 (p. 666); *Contra Gaudent.*, I, 28. 32 (p. 725).

<sup>63</sup> *Ep.*, 185. 15 (*CSEL*, v. 57, p. 14).

<sup>64</sup> "*Sanctorum duces*," Optatus, III. 4 (*CSEL*, v. 26, p. 82); Augustine, *Enar. in Ps.*, 132. 6 (*PL.*, v. 37, p. 173).

<sup>65</sup> "*Continentes, virgines sanctae, sanctimoniales*." Augustine regarded these Donatist virgins as "bands of homeless women who have declined matrimony in order that they may avoid restraint." *Ep.*, 35. 2 (*CSEL*, v. 34 (2), p. 28). Cf. *Enar. in Ps.*, 132. 4, 6 (*PL.*, v. 37, pp. 1730, 1732); *Contra Ep. Parmen.*, II, 3. 6; 9. 19 (*PL.*, v. 43, pp. 53, 62); *Contra lit. Petil.*, II, 88. 195 (*PL.*, v. 43, p. 320); *Contra Gaudent.*, I, 31. 37; 36. 46 (*PL.*, v. 43, pp. 729, 734-5).

could be voluntarily achieved.<sup>66</sup> Although they confused martyrdom with suicide, they did not wish to strike the fatal blow themselves for fear that they might thus exclude themselves from Paradise. They, therefore, sought for persons to kill them, and in a letter to Count Boniface, Saint Augustine related some of their practices.<sup>67</sup> "Vast crowds of them used to come in processions to the most frequented pagan ceremonies, while the worship of idols still continued, not with the view of breaking the idols, but that they might be put to death by those who worshipped them. For if they had sought to break the idols under the sanction of lawful authority, they might in case of anything happening to them, have some show of a claim to be considered martyrs; but their only object in coming was, that while the idols might remain uninjured, they themselves might meet with death. For it was the general custom of the strongest youths among the idolaters, for each of them to offer in sacrifice to the idols themselves any victims that they might have slain. Some went so far as to offer themselves for slaughter to any armed travellers whom they met, using violent threats that they would murder them if they failed to meet with death at their hands. Sometimes too they extorted with violence from any passing judge that they should be put to death by the executioners, or by the officers of his court. And hence we have a story, that a certain judge played a trick upon them, by ordering them to be bound and led away as though for execution, and so escaped their violence, without injury to himself or them. Again it was their daily sport to kill themselves by throwing themselves over precipices, or into the water, or into fire; for the devil taught them these three ways of suicide, so that when they wished to die and could not find anyone whom they could terrify into slaying them with his sword, they threw themselves over the rocks, or committed themselves to the fire or to the eddying pool." In the latter cases they sought to escape the charge of suicide by the assertion that they were thus escaping from their persecutors.

The other constant expression of this religious fanaticism was the persecution of the Catholic clergy, especially of those

<sup>66</sup> *Ep.*, 43. 24; 88. 8; 185. 8, 12; 204. 1-2, 5 (*CSEL*, v. 34 (2), pp. 106, 415; v. 57, pp. 8, 10-11, 317-18, 320); Optatus, III., 4 (*CSEL*, v. 26, p. 82f); Augustine, *Ad. Don. Post Col.*, 17. 22 (*PL*, v. 43, p. 666); *Contra Gaudent.*, I, 22. 25; 27. 30-31; 28. 32 (*PL*, v. 43, pp. 720-21, 724, 725).

<sup>67</sup> *Ep.*, 185. 12 (*CSEL*, v. 57, pp. 10-11).

who had rallied to the church from Donatism.<sup>68</sup> This use of the Circumcellions as the Donatist instrument of hate is characteristic of the schism throughout its entire history. In their fiendish work the wild bands were usually led by Donatist clerics, occasionally even by bishops like the notorious Optatus, a fact which proves the close, if unofficial, alliance between the "Soldiers of Christ" and the schismatic church.<sup>69</sup> Saint Augustine frequently denounced this connection to the Donatists themselves.<sup>70</sup> Many Donatist prelates did condemn the Circumcellions, and even Macrobius of Hippo, who began his episcopate in alliance with them, ended by denouncing them to their faces, although he expressed himself in Latin, and not in Punic which they understood.<sup>71</sup> The majority, however, seem to have desired to keep the Circumcellions without being compromised with them, and to retain public favor without breaking with them.<sup>72</sup> That must have been most difficult at times. In the end it led to the downfall of the sect, for it was the persistence of Circumcellion terrorism more than any other thing which induced the Catholic church to use the forces of the state in order to execute a relentless policy of coercion.

68 *Ep.*, 88. 6; 105. 3, 4; 133. 1; 134. 2; 139. 1-2; 185. 18 (*CSEL*, v. 24 (2), pp. 412, 597-8; v. 44, pp. 80-81, 85, 148-50; v. 57, p. 16).

69 *Ep.*, 88. 6, 7; 105. 3; 108. 14; 111. 1; 131. 1; 134. 2, 185. 2, 5 (*CSEL*, v. 34 (2), pp. 412, 413, 597, 627, 643; v. 57, p. 24); Augustine, *Contra Cresc.*, III, 43. 47; IV, 51. 61 (*PL*, v. 43, pp. 522, 581).

70 *Ep.*, 76. 2 (*CSEL*, v. 34 (2), p. 327): Ipse dixit, Messores angli sunt, non dixit, Messores principes Circumcellionum sunt. The clerics were always the *duces Circumcellionum*, as *Ep.*, 105. 3 (*CSEL*, v. 34 (2), p. 597). Cf.: *Ep.*, 88. 1 (p. 407), and *Contra Cresc.*, III, 43. 47 (*PL*, v. 43, p. 522).

71 *Ep.*, 108. 14 (*CSEL*, v. 34 (2) p. 627).

72 *Ibid.*, 18 (p. 632).

## THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN TRANS-MISSOURI

DON W. HOLTER

*Manila, P. I.*

With the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 the region we have chosen to call trans-Missouri became a potential American frontier. Settlement began in Missouri with the opening of the nineteenth century, but it was not until after 1850 that the remainder of the region was thrown open to allow the restless flood of western-moving people to pour into Kansas, Nebraska, and Dakota. Protestantism came into the new region as a part of this vast conquest.

Even before the Louisiana Purchase, the Baptists and Methodists, already the two most effective frontier denominations, entered the country later to be known as Missouri and were soon organizing their work. With the immigration of large numbers of people during the territorial period came the Presbyterians, Disciples, and Cumberland Presbyterians. As the settlements advanced up the Missouri River and finally reached the western boundary of the newly erected state, the religious forces followed. The new communities along the Missouri River were soon served by the representatives of the several denominations. The Methodists, Baptists, and Disciples were especially successful, but the Congregationalists failed to establish their work because of the opposition provoked by their anti-slavery views.

Religious activities in Kansas and Nebraska began among the Indians in 1830. Immediately after the government's removal of the various tribes to the Indian Territory west of Missouri, denominational work was initiated. Led by the pioneer missionary, Isaac McCoy, the Baptists worked especially among the Shawnees, Delawares, Ottawas and Otoes.<sup>1</sup> Although the Methodists' most successful endeavors were among the Wyandottes and Shawnees, missions were also established

<sup>1</sup> Isaac McCoy, *The History of Baptist Indian Missions*, Washington: W. M. Morrison; New York: H. and S. Raynor, 1840, pp. 196 ff., 404 f.; *Proceedings and Reports of the American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions*, Boston, 1832-1865.

among several tribes—Kaws, Delawares, Kickapoos and Potawatamies.<sup>2</sup> The most famous of the Methodist missionaries was Thomas Johnson, the founder of the Manual Labor School at Shawnee. The work among the Osages of Grand River was begun by the Presbyterians and later taken over by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Old School Presbyterian missionary activities were directed toward aiding the Iowas, Sacs, Foxes, Otoes and Omahas.<sup>3</sup> The American Board's principal work was confined to the Dakotas, first in Minnesota and later in the Dakota country, and to the Pawnees in Nebraska.<sup>4</sup> The chief endeavors of the Friends were with the Shawnees, although a limited work was carried on among the Kaws. Under President Grant's Peace Policy the supervision of all Indian work in this region was placed under the control of the Liberal and Orthodox Quakers.<sup>5</sup>

The beneficial results of the Protestant Indian missions were limited, due to many difficulties: prevalence of liquor; the unsettled life and roving spirit of the Indians; the unwise governmental policy; the trading activities of the whites; and the limited number of workers.

Protestantism was established among the whites in Kansas during the period of disturbance occasioned by the political conflict over the new territory. The Methodist Episcopal Church gained an immediate advantage by its early action, while the Congregationalists profited by the early immigration of New Englanders. Other denominations were soon alive to the possibilities of this virgin field and a race for Kansas ensued. All of the larger denominations sent representatives and many of the smaller groups also entered the field. All endeavored to establish themselves in the larger towns, and a spirit of competition was everywhere manifest.

Despite the difficulties attending the border troubles, the severe life of the frontier, low moral standards, Pike's Peak fever, and the drouth of 1860, at least sixteen denominations had become established before the opening of the Civil War.

<sup>2</sup> *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, Topeka, 1906, IX, 180 ff.; *Minutes of the Annual Conferences*, New York, 1832-1860.

<sup>3</sup> *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, X, 312 ff.; *Annual Reports of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, New York, 1838-1873.

<sup>4</sup> *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, Topeka, 1910, XI, 323 ff.; *The Missionary Herald*, Vols. XXXI-XLIX.

<sup>5</sup> *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, VIII, 250 ff.; R. W. Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians*, Philadelphia, 1917, pp. 140 ff.



Since the states which furnished the greater number of settlers—Ohio, Missouri, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, New York and Iowa—were “Methodist states,” that church was able by its early start and its well functioning organization, admirably adapted to frontier needs, to surpass all other Protestant groups in numerical strength. The emigration from these states worked in an adverse manner for the Congregationalists so that they were not able to profit by their early beginning. During the early period the Baptists practically failed because of lack of support from the east and their inadequate organization. The Disciples prospered among the settlers from Missouri and also in the rural communities. Other denominations, such as the Methodist Episcopal, South, and the Old School Presbyterians, were at a disadvantage because of their supposed position on slavery.

Although Protestant groups entered eastern Iowa soon after it was legal to do so, it was not until about 1850 that any permanent work was established in western Iowa. The population of the southwestern part of the state did not increase to any great extent until Nebraska was opened for white settlement. Even after 1854 the main stream of emigrants flowed into Kansas and as a result western Iowa and eastern Nebraska were handicapped by a slow start. The denominations were soon working among the early settlers amid difficulties similar to those experienced in Kansas, and although the numerical results were not great, they were significant in proportion to the population. In Nebraska as well as Kansas the Methodists took an early lead which they never relinquished. Other denominations—Congregationalists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Lutherans—initiated several endeavors, but their work was not very extensive.

During the Civil War, not only was the flow of population to the west retarded but the receipts of the denominational boards were curtailed. The cause of these two changes, the war, also absorbed the attention of the people in these new communities and interest in the progress of religion waned. The actual war activities caused the cessation of services and the destruction of church property in Missouri, while in Kansas and Nebraska the fear of guerrilla and Indian raids created excitement not at all conducive to religious advance. The enlistment of men in the army often had a disastrous effect on the life of the small

churches which were dependent on a few people for their support. The accompanying lowering of moral standards incident to war added another responsibility to the overworked religious pioneers. Even though organized work in Missouri was stopped and little was accomplished in Nebraska, progress was made in Kansas, especially by the Disciples and Methodists. The former denomination profited by the immigration of large numbers of Missourians while the latter was able to maintain itself because of its numerical advantage at the opening of the period.

One of the chief elements in the nation's development during the Reconstruction Period was the construction of railroads, especially in the west. The most thrilling episode in this dramatic period was the building of the Union Pacific. Many other lines were built in trans-Missouri and many more projected. Railroad construction was indeed responsible for the coming of many settlers and the opening of new regions.

Following the war, all denominations renewed their activities. In Missouri reconstruction work was immediately begun, and although hindered by the loss of members and of church property, the various groups were soon serving the ever increasing population. The churches which had prospered before the war immediately regained their prominent positions, and the Congregationalists and "Northern" Methodists were able to establish churches without the old-time disfavor.

In Kansas and Nebraska the horde of settlers coming in to obtain land under the conditions of the Homestead Law increased the opportunities of the churches and made possible a tremendous growth in membership. Northwestern Iowa and the new region of Dakota also profited by the great influx of settlers; the few communities formed before the war increased in size and many new settlements were established. After 1870 one of the most active of the denominational groups was the reunited Presbyterian Church. Led by Timothy Hill in Kansas and Sheldon Jackson in western Iowa and Nebraska, advances were made into hitherto neglected towns and also new settlements.<sup>6</sup> The Methodists maintained their numerical leadership, but other groups were not idle. Although handicapped by a slow start, the Baptists, by tremendous strides, attained their

<sup>6</sup> *Eleventh Annual Report of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, p. 12; R. L. Stewart, *Sheldon Jackson*, New York and Chicago, 1908, pp. 92 ff.; *Sheldon Jackson Papers*, Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society.

accustomed place of prominence. The Congregationalists suffered from the competition with the Presbyterians and lost their earlier lead. In Kansas and Missouri the Disciples prospered, but in the former state they were soon equalled by the revived Baptists. During the late sixties and early seventies all the larger denominations entered Dakota and began organizing activities.

To aid these struggling churches of the plains country where there was little available timber, organizations such as the Church Extension Committee, the Congregational Union, the Church Edifice Fund, and the Church Extension Society were formed to aid in the erection of churches. These organizations were a boon not only to Kansas and Nebraska but also to Missouri where reconstruction was needed due to the ravages of the war.

The history of the church in any period is a part of the history of the people which it is attempting to serve. This means that any religious organization will be affected by the social environment of which it is an integral part and will in turn help to mold that environment. Protestantism in trans-Missouri was inextricably bound up with social movements and played an important rôle.

The Indians of the United States have had few trustworthy friends. In this small group the Protestant missionaries occupy an important position. The removal of the Indians to the region west of the Missouri River by the government may have been motivated partly by the desire to get rid of them, but it is certainly true that the part played by the Baptist missionary, Isaac McCoy, came from a desire to better their condition. In the treatment of the Indians, no group was so eager for their betterment as were the devoted missionaries sent out by the various denominations. These men constantly inveighed against the corrupting influence of the whites who were eager to trade with the Indians or sell them liquor despite the government's prohibition of the latter practice. Missions were most successful when white population was far removed. The pioneer missionaries did not confine themselves, however, to polemics against the whites. Their chief contribution lay in their efforts to civilize the Indians. In these endeavors, they did not emphasize indoctrination with theological beliefs as much as they did practical education in ordinary living. Classical education occupied a minor rôle. Their first efforts were directed toward

gaining a knowledge of the language and then by means of the printing press to make the written language useable for the Indians. Realizing that the only hope for the Indians lay in their giving up their roving habits and becoming a settled people, the missionaries sought to train the Indian youth in the settled ways of life. For this reason chief emphasis was placed on work of the Manual Labor Schools. In these schools the boys were trained in the agricultural arts and the girls in household or domestic duties. The beneficial results of such labors were not always immediately evident or measurable and of course differed with the various tribes. The northern and indigenous tribes never attained the cultural level of the southern and immigrant tribes. Despite seemingly poor results, the missionaries did gain the absolute confidence of the Indians and were often the only white representatives whom they would trust. To the Indian, the missionary was a protector, an educator, a defender of moral standards, and a devoted friend in his ever changing existence.

With the creation of the Kansas and Nebraska territories, this region changed from the land of the "red-skins" to the land of the whites. Immediately following Senator Douglas' proposal that squatter sovereignty should decide whether these two territories should be free or slave, Kansas took the center of the stage. While the Kansas and Nebraska Bill was being debated in the Congress, various religious groups felt free to express themselves in no uncertain terms in opposition to the bill.<sup>7</sup> When it was finally passed, the attempt to save Kansas was interpreted by many to be a religious crusade. Many of the ardent supporters of the New England Emigrant Aid Company were ministers, and a committee of ministers was tireless in its efforts to gain the support of the religious groups.<sup>8</sup> The prominent leaders of the colonies sent out by the company were either ministers or churchmen. To gain support, the company stressed its moral, religious, and educational work in the territory. It is significant that Lawrence, the headquarters of the company and of the Free State party, also became the religious center of the territory, and all denominations soon established their work in this place.<sup>9</sup> In the border warfare which opened

<sup>7</sup> *Journal of Religion*, VII, Nos. 5-6, October, 1927, 582 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, I, II, 193 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *American Home Missionary Society Collection*, Chicago Theological Seminary, MS letter from S. Y. Lum, Lawrence, September 23, 1855.

shortly after the earliest settlement, there was a display of animosity and hatred which was not wholly spontaneous. To understand the border warfare it is necessary to recall the government's dealing with the Indian missions and the intense rivalry which had existed between the churches in Missouri. The Baptist, Methodist Episcopal and Quaker missionaries felt that they were discriminated against in the general administration of Indian affairs under the agent appointed by the Democratic administration. In the division of the Methodist Church in 1844, the Missouri Conference voted to become a part of the Church South. All the northern preachers did not retire from the field, however, and in 1848 the "northern" branch reorganized its work in Missouri and attempted to establish itself. The rivalry between these churches was intense and lacked any true Christian spirit.<sup>10</sup> Since the "southern" branch had the favor of the majority of the people, it had the advantage, but the undaunted efforts of the northern brethren were a literal "thorn in the flesh." The Congregationalists, on the other hand, had absolutely failed in Missouri because of their anti-slavery position.<sup>11</sup> Both of these churches were loathed and discriminated against by the loyal Missourian. In Lawrence, these two hated denominations were strong and influential. It is not difficult to see that this already existing feeling would color the attitude of both groups and make them ready to believe all stories of malicious intentions or actions no matter how exaggerated.

Ministers were quite outspoken in their denunciation of slavery and the "slavocrats" and suffered accordingly at the hands of the Missourians. The well-known case is that of Pardee Butler, a Disciples minister, who unwisely provoked the "border ruffians" in Atchison and was first sent down the Missouri River on a raft, then later, tarred and "cottoned."<sup>12</sup>

The opening of the war only intensified the already existing difficulties. Both northern and southern ministers in Missouri were persecuted by the opposing side when in control. The Congregationalists and Methodists in Kansas and Nebraska supported the northern cause enthusiastically.<sup>13</sup> Not only in-

10 W. W. Sweet, *The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Civil War*, Cincinnati, 1912, p. 158.

11 *The Home Missionary*, 1856, pp. 42 ff.

12 Pardee Butler, *Personal Recollections*, Cincinnati, 1889, pp. 66f., 106 ff.

13 *American Home Missionary Society Collection*, MS letter from S. D. Storrs, Atchison, October 15, 1864; *Central Christian Advocate*, May 22, 1861; David Marquette, *History of Nebraska Methodism*, Cincinnati, 1904, p. 122.



dividual men, but the conferences of the latter denomination joined in supporting the "cause that is just." The Congregational ministers, although lamenting the effects of the war on religion, still felt that it was a necessary evil and that the "cancer of slavery" should be removed as soon as possible. The Disciples remained neutral, since many of their adherents were southerners, but the effectiveness of the work of Pardee Butler, an anti-slavery advocate, shows that they were far from being southern sympathizers. During the days of the War, a settler's church affiliation often was an identifying mark of his position between the north and south. If he were a "Southern Methodist" he was suspected of being friendly with the south; if a Disciple, there was some suspicion, but he was usually thought to be neutral; but if he were Methodist Episcopal or Congregational, there was no doubt about his sympathies with the north. The people of the two latter churches, practically all from northern states, would not tolerate anything which savored of the south.

Economically the churches were an important factor in the life of early trans-Missouri. In any new town enterprise the church was always thought necessary. Although the various denominations made great efforts to bring the gospel to all places, the few larger towns received the services of several groups while the smaller towns often had no minister. The churches on the trans-Missouri frontier received aid from all classes of people. Many of course supported the religious organizations because they appreciated their influence in a new community. Others aided in the establishment of a church for purely economic reasons. Any new town was a great risk for the investor. When a likely site was proposed and seemed to have possibilities, land speculators would rush in and "buy up" the corner lots and hold them for higher prices. It was found that the location of a church and a minister in the town would increase the attractiveness of the place to the home-seeking settler. This, of course, raised the selling price of all lots. Speculators were, then, more than willing to contribute to the support of the first minister and the erection of the first church.<sup>14</sup> Much to the chagrin of the religious pioneers, the speculators made little distinction between the denominations; the name of the group made little difference. Town associations and rail-

<sup>14</sup> *American Home Missionary Society Collection*, MS letter from R. Cordley, March 15, 1858.

roads also realized the value of religious edifices and readily donated lots for future church buildings, usually with the stipulation that they be built within a specified time. Since the first church erected in a community was usually the only one which profited by the support of those who were interested from an economic standpoint, the denominational rivalry was intensified by the race to be the first. Not only was church building resorted to as a means of building a new town, but it was also a device to keep the town alive.<sup>15</sup> In addition to enhancing the

In this early speculation ministers were often involved. Few of these religious pioneers ever received much financial remuneration and it was, therefore, difficult for them to overlook the numerous opportunities to make money through land speculation. Among the Methodist Episcopal ministers in Kansas, the practice seems to have been present to some extent, for the Conference thought it necessary to pass a resolution against the evil.<sup>16</sup> It is probable that some ministers in all denominations participated, or at least tasted of the "forbidden fruit."<sup>17</sup>

Moral conditions on any frontier are low. The absence of the restraining and stabilizing influence of the organized community, combined with primitive living conditions amid the insecure and ever-changing life, tend to promote low moral standards. Trans-Missouri did not escape such a period. Intemperance, gambling, profanity, "Sabbath breaking" and indifference to religion were in evidence in most towns, and especially in those on the river. There is a difference, however, in the way in which this frontier regarded such evils. On the earlier frontier, west of the Alleghanies, the churches became the moral courts and thus regulated the life of the community. In Kansas and Nebraska, some of the early communities took action to rid themselves of the evil of intemperance, and even took the fight to the legislative halls of the territories. The first Nebraska territorial legislature, which met in the winter of 1854-1855, passed a prohibitory liquor law. Only four members of both houses of the legislature voted against this bill presented by Taylor G. Goodwill, a loyal supporter of the town's reputation, the erection of a church made for the appearance of prosperity.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, MS letter from J. C. Merrill, Topeka, November, 1870.

<sup>16</sup> *Minutes of the Kansas and Nebraska Conference*, 1860, p. 23.

<sup>17</sup> *American Home Missionary Society Collection*, MS letter from R. Cordley, Lawrence, March 15, 1858.

Methodist Episcopal church in Omaha.<sup>18</sup> Although the bill was repealed three years later, a license law was substituted for it.

In regard to prohibition, no state in the United States has as well-known a position as has Kansas. The background for its reputation is found in its earliest history. At its session in 1855, the territorial legislature of Kansas passed "An act to restrain dramshops and taverns, and to regulate the sale of intoxicating liquors," which provided that each township should vote biennially to decide whether or not licenses should be issued to dramshops and taverns.<sup>19</sup> Four years later cities of over 1,000 inhabitants were exempted from this provision and were allowed to provide their own regulations. In 1867, however, an act was passed which provided that no license could be issued to any dramshop or tavern unless the majority of the residents in the township or ward of the city signed a petition recommending such action. Except for the exemptions made for cities in 1868, the statute remained unchanged until 1880 when the Constitutional Prohibitory amendment was passed.<sup>20</sup> The above regulations seem incongruous for the frontier and are difficult to understand unless the influence of the Protestant denominations is taken into consideration.<sup>21</sup> Individual ministers supported by the state, conference, and synodical groups of the various denominations took a very definite stand on the matter of intemperance and were indefatigable in their efforts to root out the evil. In the temperance societies organized and in the promotion of temperance meetings, the preachers were the guiding spirits. It was undoubtedly due to the influence of the religious groups that several towns incorporated stringent license laws in their charters, while the religious center of Kansas, Lawrence, prohibited the sale of liquor within the city limits.<sup>22</sup> The evils mentioned above were heartily condemned, as were horse-racing, card-playing, tobacco, dancing, and baseball clubs, but the campaign against these was not as successful as that against intemperance. The high moral standards prevalent in Kansas and Nebraska had their genesis in the unflagging efforts of the religious pioneers.

18 J. S. Morton and Albert Watkins, *Illustrated History of Nebraska*, Lincoln, 1907, I, 224 f.

19 A. T. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, Chicago, 1883, pp. 287 ff.

20 *Ibid.*

21 W. E. Connelley, *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans*, Chicago and New York, 1918, II.

22 Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

Trans-Missouri owes a great debt to Protestantism for its present educational facilities. Education's best friend was the minister and the various denominations assumed the responsibility of furnishing colleges and universities. Before the Civil War several denominational groups boasted of schools in Missouri but few of them were strongly established when hostilities broke out. During the war the schools of course were closed and many of the buildings were destroyed or used for army purposes. A great educational advance followed the close of the conflict. Several denominations—Baptist, Methodist Episcopal South, Methodist Episcopal, Disciples, Congregational, and Presbyterian—founded schools, but the Baptists were particularly active.

In Kansas, little time elapsed between the first settlement and the opening, in 1858, of the first college, Baker University, a Methodist school. During the eight succeeding years the Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregationalists, and United Brethren established denominational colleges. Three of the present state schools of Kansas had their beginnings in denominational endeavors: Kansas State College is a successor to Bluemont College, a Methodist school;<sup>23</sup> Kansas University was established on the foundations laid by the Protestant Episcopal and Presbyterian churches in Lawrence;<sup>24</sup> and the State Teachers College at Emporia owes a great debt to the early efforts of G. C. Morse, a Congregational missionary.<sup>25</sup> The church also furnished two of the earliest state superintendents of education—Isaac T. Goodnow, a Methodist minister, and Peter McVicar, a Congregational minister.

Since Nebraska did not receive its greatest influx of home-seekers until after the Civil War, the growth of her educational institutions began at a later period than in her sister state, Kansas. From the very beginning, however, various denominations dreamed of and made attempts at founding schools, though it was not until after 1880 that it was possible to do any significant work. The most active of the denominations were the Methodist and the Congregational.

The high educational ideals which now pervade trans-Missouri are without doubt the result of the activities, self-

<sup>23</sup> *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, VII, 168 ff.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 70 ff.

<sup>25</sup> Connelley, *op. cit.*, II, 1015 ff.

sacrifice, and visions of the early Protestant churchmen who continued to dream of the future despite the seemingly insurmountable barriers incident to the early frontier.

Anyone familiar with life in a small community at the present time knows the important place which the church holds in the life of the people. Such a person can appreciate to some extent the even greater rôle played by the church on the frontier. Frontier life is a lonely existence and was for many quite a change from the communities from which the settlers of trans-Missouri had emigrated. The Sunday service therefore served not only as a means of divine worship but as an occasion for meeting one's neighbors. Here the men discussed their common problems, national affairs, the events of the past week and found sympathetic ears for their discouragements; for the women it was the occasion for discussion of household problems; and for the youth it was the only opportunity for meeting other young people. Since some of the members lived far away, all day meetings were often held which consisted of two or three services, "basket-dinners," and a day of fellowship. Annual camp meetings became popular because of the need for a means of social fellowship. It was an occasion which people looked forward to during the year for there they could renew old friendships and meet new settlers from "back east." The church service came as a relief from the past week's work, while the camp meeting usually came after the strenuous labors of the summer. The service itself often served as an important link for the homesick settler, since it was the only element not wholly new. Although divine worship was often necessarily informal, yet it was similar to that "back home"; the same hymns, order of worship and forms were used. Since the church was the center of the life of its members it was therefore cherished.

On this frontier where political questions were constantly demanding consideration, where the satisfaction of even simple economic needs was nearly impossible, and where moral standards were easily lowered, only a vital religion could maintain itself. That the various denominations supplied that need is attested by their growth and their consequent influence in the lives of the people. In the life of these early settlements the preacher, as a part of the community, had a fundamental task to perform. To combat discouragements, failure, privations and loneliness he attempted to bring joy, hope, and en-



couragement by giving his fellow-pioneers a new attitude and outlook on life. Amid the precarious and constantly changing scene, the Protestant minister attempted to turn the thoughts of the sturdy pioneers toward that which is eternal and changeless.

## IN MEMORIAM

EPHRAIM EMERTON, PH. D.

On March 3, after a life of eighty-four years, Ephraim Emerton entered what he once named "the tender darkness of death." Forty-two years were spent in the teaching and writing of history in Harvard University, and persistent study in the years following his retirement in 1918 enriched our literature with five more volumes, the last appearing in his last year of life. Many are those who have prized his clear narrations and the guidance of his critical, clarified, and comprehending intelligence in knowledge of past centuries. Many are those who treasure the memory of a rich culture, a happy temperament, a cheering friendliness, a steadfast faith and piety, a wide erudition and the quiet dignity of his just and modest spirit.

Born in Salem, Mass., February 18, 1851, he graduated from Harvard College in 1871. His interest in history was quickened in college by Henry W. Torrey whom he called "a born teacher," by E. W. Gurney, and in the last year by Henry Adams. The "strong legal bent" which Adams aimed to give to the study of mediaeval civilization possibly had its influence on Emerton, since, after graduation, he began a law course in Boston University; but the law was not his chosen vocation. In the summer of 1873 he began a year of European travel and devoted the two following years to historical study in Leipzig University where in August 1876 he won a doctorate.

He returned to Harvard as instructor in Roman and Mediaeval History, but in 1882 was elected to the Winn Professorship of Ecclesiastical History. This chair had been created, as Emerton expresses it, "in the hope that the history of the Christian Church treated as a part of the general history of mankind might be profitable to other than divinity students." Thus Emerton, a layman, began to serve primarily lay needs by courses on Christianity's conflict with paganism, on the development of Roman primacy, the effect of the mediaeval church on intellectual and social progress, the transition to the modern world in the Renaissance and Reformation with study of the Canon Law in reference to the legal basis of Protestantism. For the divinity students he provided a special course in the history of Christian doctrine as related to successive phases of thought in the changing world. His classes numbered men of all branches of faith who were gratified by his irenic respect for the right to differ, "the most precious right of the thinking man." This phrase sprang from his own deep concern in religion. The pervasion of his heart and mind by religion is revealed in his volume on Unitarian Thought and the gentle reverence of the faith there given systematic exposition has been a solace to many.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### LETTERS OF THEODORE DWIGHT WELD, ANGELINA GRIMKÉ WELD AND SARAH GRIMKÉ, 1822-1844

Edited by GILBERT H. BARNES and DWIGHT L. DUMOND. New York and London: Appleton-Century Company, 1934. 2 vols., 1023 pages, \$10.

The publication of these two handsome volumes under the direction of the American Historical Association from the income of the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund makes available to students of the American antislavery movement a collection of new sources of rare value. Since the publication of Professor Barnes' *The Anti-Slavery Impulse* a year ago, these volumes of letters, which formed the principal sources of that notable volume, have been awaited with keen anticipation by an increasing number of readers. For there is no doubt, at least in the mind of this reviewer, that the entire history of the abolition movement from its inception to the Civil War must now be rewritten in the light of the revelations of the materials in these two volumes.

It seems almost unbelievable that material so important to an understanding of such a notable episode in American history should have remained hidden so long or that a figure so dominating as was that of Theodore Dwight Weld should have been so nearly forgotten. Edward Channing, for instance, in his two volumes (the fifth and sixth) covering the period from 1815 through the Civil War, does not mention Weld; nor does Beard's *Rise of American Civilization* or Fish's *The Rise of the Common Man, 1830-1850*. Albert Bushnell Hart in volume XVI of the American Nation Series, *Slavery and Abolition*, briefly mentions Weld in two places, but with a wrong initial. But after a careful reading of these two volumes together with Professor Barnes' earlier study, the impartial student will, I am sure, agree with the estimate of the editors that Weld was the abolition movement's "man of power," and "the greatest individual factor in its triumph."

The editors have felt it necessary to explain, in their Introduction to these documents, Weld's obscurity among the reformers. The antislavery leaders formed a sort of mutual admiration society, but even in such an atmosphere of glorification of one another, Weld, the greatest leader of them all has remained almost completely unknown. The letters in these volumes make it clear that Weld's obscurity was his own choice. Though the greatest of all antislavery orators, Weld made it a point never to speak at antislavery conventions or other great gatherings, or even attend them except under great pressure. He declined all offices of authority, although many were offered him, and refused to lecture in the

large cities, confining his speaking to the smaller towns and villages. Nor would he permit his writings to be widely published in the antislavery press and even his letters, written from the field, he likewise refused to have printed.

In the light of these documents, what is the importance of Theodore Dwight Weld in the abolition movement. In the first place, Weld stepped into the leadership of the movement at the moment when Garrisonian leadership had been almost completely repudiated by the only group of people who might be expected to carry it forward, namely the church people. Weld and the other "Lane rebels" migrated to Oberlin in 1835, and eventually thirty-two of these young men, all of whom had come under the influence of Weld, became antislavery evangelists, using the Charles G. Finney methods in abolitionizing church people in Ohio, western Pennsylvania, and central and western New York, the regions from which was soon to come the principal antislavery leadership in the nation. Later Weld as lobbyist and adviser of the antislavery members of Congress, furnished a good share of the materials for the antislavery speeches of John Quincy Adams and the other abolition members, and through his unobtrusive service was the principal factor in creating the antislavery bloc in Congress, while the chief support for the cause came from those regions which had been abolitionized by him and his disciples. And finally his only book, *Slavery As It Is*, was the most devastating denunciation of the institution of slavery published by any of the abolitionists, and according to Harriet Beecher Stowe her *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was "crystallized out" of it.

The Grimké sisters, Sarah and Angelina—the latter having married Weld in 1838—are as interesting and well-nigh as important in the antislavery movement as is Weld. Natives of South Carolina and the daughters of a slave-holding judge of Charleston, they were brought up in a wealthy, aristocratic and conservative atmosphere. Both of them, however, soon manifested dissatisfaction with their surroundings, and eventually both came north where they became members of the Quaker Society. In 1835 they identified themselves with the abolition movement and soon were active in speaking and writing for the cause. Because of the general feeling of the time against women speaking in public, they were much opposed by the clergy and others, which practically compelled them to widen their reform platform to include the cause of the equality of the sexes. Though the majority of the letters printed in these two volumes are from the personal correspondence of Weld with his wife Angelina Grimké and with her sister Sarah Grimké, yet the earlier letters particularly represent a much wider variety of correspondence and contain letters from Charles G. Finney, Weld's spiritual father, Charles Stuart, James G. Birney, Elizur Wright, Lewis Tappan and numerous other prominent figures in the antislavery crusade.

Apart from their large historical importance the letters are extremely interesting human documents and deserve some consideration for their own sake. The task of editing seems to have been well done, though the index leaves considerable to be desired.

University of Chicago.

William Warren Sweet.

## THE REDISCOVERY OF JOHN WESLEY

By GEORGE CROFT CELL. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1935. 420 pages. \$2.50.

The man who has been claimed by, or placed in the company of Spiritualists, Christian Scientists, Roman Catholics, High Church and Low Church parties, Lutherans, Calvinists, modernists, fundamentalists, holiness and non-holiness groups and who has been regarded as an institutionalist, a moralist, an evangelical, a romanticist in literature and religion—such a man may well need to be rediscovered. The author claims to have done so. He delineates the various stages of Wesley's theological development from the earlier intellectualistic, moralistic, and mystical (all afflicted with the humanistic taint) periods to his final position, where he found the evangelical heart of salvation through a God-given faith in Christ. We are shown how the revivalist tried to reason himself into a saving faith, then tried to emotionalize himself into a stage of religious satisfaction, followed by the rigorous discipline of his will in an attempt to earn salvation. All to no avail. In the end salvation may be said to have found him by the grace of God. The author has given us a different book, one that ought to be read in addition to other monographs on Wesley. The work is thorough and based upon a fresh study of the original sources. Unfortunately, however, the dish of fancy (emotional reactions on the part of the author) sometimes run away with the spoon of fact. Occasional misplaced emphases, exaggerations, and an inadequate conception of both Calvinism and mysticism lead the author to extravagant conclusions.

In order to clarify the reviewer's criticisms of the book, he desires to remind the reader that Wesley himself is partly to blame for the contradictory views which have arisen regarding his positions. The attempt to make him absolutely consistent easily leads the historical systematiser into "theological chatter," as Harnack branded the frantic endeavors to force Augustine into a consistent system. In view of this fact, concessions need to be made. These are not due to an "anarchy of religious thought" as the author cavalierly asserts. Rattenbury's "concessions," for instance, in his *Wesley's Legacy to the World*, and Workman's splendid introductory chapter to *A New History of Methodism* are cases in point.

The Ritschlian bias against everything mystical is marked in the author's virtual identification of mysticism with its "lunatic fringe." The mystical way being represented as a characteristic Catholic form of piety, it must obviously follow that Protestantism has no place for it. We may grant that Wesley was no mystic according to his own view or even according to the author's opinion. But what if both of these gentlemen had erroneous conceptions of the subject? If Wesley's affinity with the Friends is acknowledged (pp. 91ff.), if Christian assurance is declared to be "intuitive and immediate", we are surely treading upon mystical ground.

The term "Calvinism" likewise is not always used with due regard to "terminological conscience". By positing an Arminianism almost identical



with Pelagianism as over against a Calvinism arbitrarily deleted of much that came from Calvin, one may easily conclude that since Wesley was Augustinian rather than Pelagian, as was Calvin also, he was thoroughly Calvinistic. With equal cogency one might conclude that Wesley was a follower of Pelagius since he agreed with the latter in the matter of Christian perfection. Where Piette, the Roman Catholic authority on Wesley, magnifies the difference between the English reformer and the Luther-Calvin tradition, Dr. Cell is prone to magnify the resemblances.

In addition to these strictures, many readers will resent the author's gratuitous depreciation of the contribution of other writers in this field. The book is also marred by an inordinate indulgence in preachments primarily directed at the liberal thinkers within the Methodist fold. The impression is conveyed (perhaps inadvertently) that the author was using Wesley in order to disparage the modern distorters of Christianity.

The Garrett Biblical Institute.

A. W. Nagler.

#### THOMAS MORE

By CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company. xiv, 256 pages. \$2.25.

The sixth of July this year is the four hundredth anniversary of Sir Thomas More's execution. Its approach is happily adding to an already well-developed interest in the man and his work. In the last decade there have appeared numerous biographies and several studies of his literary contributions, the latter mostly centering around the work of Professors R. W. Chambers and A. W. Reed of London University. The Early English Text Society has published for the first time Harpsfield's *Life of More* and a notably thorough edition of Sir Thomas' *Apology* by Professor A. I. Taft of Oberlin. Most important of all is the work of W. E. Campbell who has begun a great service to scholars by issuing the first two parts of a proposed seven-volume edition of More's complete English works.

The work under review is a popular biography, written from the Catholic point of view, by the author of the lives of Samuel Johnson, Erasmus, and Ignatius Loyola. While by no means the definitive Catholic biography of More, it deserves notice because of the progress which it indicates in the direction of fairness to rival points of view. Certain commendable characteristics of the early Protestant reformers are pointed out and on the other hand it is admitted that there were some communistic trends in More's thinking. On the vexed question of the contrast between the attitude of religious toleration described in the *Utopia* and More's later persecuting activity the author sides with those who believe that the literary effort was merely a description of what unenlightened pagans might be expected to accomplish and not a sketch of an ideal Christian commonwealth. It cannot be said that this is an entirely satisfactory solution of the problem, but Mr. Hollis makes a further contribution which certainly is suggestive of the direction which

future discussion of this topic should take. He points out that the work was written before the rise of the Lutheran heresy when the main controversy of the time was over the Christian attitude toward Greek culture. When one remembers the later attitude of Erasmus and the majority of the humanists toward the violent measures of the reformers it becomes evident that More's case is not an exceptional one. He was singular only in that he happened to be in a position of power during his later years.

One other feature of the work must be mentioned. Pages 133 to 146 put in readable form the evidence which has exploded the legend, inserted by Foxe into the stream of Protestant historiography, that More went out of his way to exercise a personal severity more harsh than that which the law required of him. If it did nothing else the book should be welcome for this service. Old slanders die hard, but it is high time that this one were laid in its grave. There is no more fitting occasion for such obsequies than this anniversary year.

The University of Chicago.

M. M. Knappen.

### WELSH CHRISTIAN ORIGINS

By ARTHUR W. WADE-EVANS. Oxford: Alden Press, 1934. 318 pages. 5 shillings.

Dr. Wade-Evans takes an honorable place among the investigators of Welsh antiquities; but he has been for thirty years an exponent of certain opinions regarded as heretical by most of his fellow-workers in the field and the present volume is in large part devoted to the reassertion of these tenets. Central to his viewpoint is the denial of Gildas' authorship of the historical section of the *De excidio Britanniae* traditionally ascribed to him. This position is a development of the hypothesis put forward, with the aid of earlier suggestions, by A. Anscombe in 1893; but Wade-Evans places the authorship of the *Historia* half a century later than the date assigned by Anscombe. As is well known, the ancient author dates his work "in the forty-fourth year" from the battle of Mount Badon. The *Annales Cambriae* note a battle at this spot in 516 and another in 665. By applying the reference to the later battle, our author is able to date the work of the unknown "Auctor Badonicus" in 708. He believes that the combination of this treatise of a misinformed late historian with the genuine *Epistle* of Gildas, and its circulation on his authority, "proved a great tragedy for the Welsh people". Bede innocently but incautiously gave currency to the error, and made large use of the *Historia* with its "bizarre notions" of the Saxon conquest. In the light of this major literary reconstruction, our author sees the history of early Christian Wales in a cheerful light. He lays great stress upon the Roman influence, political and religious, in the making of Wales. The country was "Britannia Prima," as distinct from other sections of the British province. Its outstanding Roman ruler was Maximus, whom the British legions proclaimed Emperor in 483, and whose wife, Helena—often confused with the mother of Constantine—when in Gaul patronized St. Martin of Tours. On the basis of Welsh legend it is inferred that she

returned to Britain after her husband's death, and with her sons fostered the beginnings of Welsh monasticism. King Arthur is represented as a great-grandson of Maximus.

With regard to the main thesis of the book, it is, I think, safe to say that the author has done no more than establish the possibility of a view which he holds as a certainty. The judgment of J. Kenney on earlier statements of the theory seems still justified. He notes that while solving some difficulties it creates others, and that it involves "many forced hypotheses and emendations of texts." (*Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, I, 152). While not convincing, the book is admirably well informed, and furnishes a mass of interesting detail on early Welsh chieftains, saints and institutions. Much of this material has a value independent of the dubious theory which it is used to serve, and not a little of it is in fact drawn from the so-called Auctor Badonicus.

The University of Chicago.

John T. McNeill.

#### MODERN TRENDS IN WORLD-RELIGIONS

Edited by *A. Eustace Haydon*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. 255 pages. \$2.50.

Here are the addresses given in the summer of 1933 under the auspices of the Haskell Foundation. The hope of the founder, forty years ago, was "that a sympathetic interpretation of religions would yield a spirit of good-will and mutual understanding between peoples of the East and West." Islam, Judaism, Christianity, Buddhism, Confucianism and Hinduism are handled, first, by M. Sprengling, M. Kaplan, E. S. Ames, J. B. Pratt, Hu Shih, and K. Natarajan under the enveloping concept of "World-Religions and Modern Scientific Thinking." Then the same six religions under "World-Religions and Modern Social-Economic Problems" are treated by Henry E. Allen, Abraham Cronbach, Alva W. Taylor, Y. Y. Tsu, Hu Shih, and K. Natarajan. Then under "World-Religions and Inter-cultural Contacts," by Allen, Kaplan, W. E. Hocking, Pratt, Lewis Hodous, and S. L. Joshi. And last, under "The Task of Modern Religion," by Sprengling, Solomon Goldman, F. J. McConnell, H. Kishimoto, Hu Shih, and Natarajan. In all, 23 lectures and one sermon (XII).

It is a noteworthy array of lectures, many of them holding a blood-relationship, if not confessed loyalty, to the religious cultures about which they speak. Islam is the only one unrepresented by a birth-right son. A reader concerned with accuracy of expression will be surprised to find savants giving their imaginations frolic in phrases like (*italics mine*): p. viii, "The natural sciences give an *entirely* new picture of the universe"; p. 27, "The result has been the *conclusion* that man has no original religious endowment"; on p. 64, some of the Hindu reformers were by their own group "*excommunicated*"; p. 98, "And Afghanistan, after Amanullah's premature attempt, seems to have returned to *medievalism*"; p. 104, "He (Jesus) was an *internationalist*"; p. 169, "In the solution of interracial and international problems and the problems relating to conflicts between opposing economic classes, Western civilization has given *no evidence* so far

of successful achievement." No one can demand from a symposium a morticed structure. One finds here a laudable Foundation concept; a harvest of important information, some striking classifications, and a few hypotheses. "Religion" is used, for the most part, as referring to institutionalized religion. A few lecturers have the courage to suggest that the "modern world" has a significant yesterday, and mayhap a pregnant morrow.

American University,  
Beirut, Syria.

Laurens Hickok Seelye.

### MODERN RELIGIOUS CULTS AND SOCIETY

By LOUIS RICHARD BINDER. Boston: Gorham Press, 1933. 202 pages and index.

The cults have not before been approached quite as Binder approaches them. Their religious aspects and relationships have been considered from almost every angle; they have been described and characterized brightly, sadly, acidly and saccharinely (if there is such a word). Binder undertakes to weigh them upon the scales of "social evaluation." He runs to sixteen chapters in four parts: "The Background of Religious Cults"; "Religious Cults and Social Adjustment"; "Religious Cults and Telic Progress"; "The Personal Interests of the Cults and Critique."

I have checked all sorts of interesting points. The cults "reflect the power of dominating personalities." They spread by "the contagion of intensive earnestness." They are comfort and escape religion (*tu quoque*, they can answer back). They create their own traditions. They have a strong group consciousness (I would underscore this). Some of them have a real genius for publicity. They are parasitic, "living largely off the organized historic evangelical churches." (This should be qualified; they began that way; now they get their membership from society directly for the most part.)

Chapter Seven, "The Cults and Their Environment," is the important chapter. Binder supplies material for a cult map which would be revealing. Some, like Christian Science, are about 80% urban;\* the holiness cults are largely rural. The oriental cults love Chicago and the Pacific coast. Mr. Buchman and his groups love hotel ball-rooms, etc. Chapter Twelve, "The Cults and Social Progress," is also suggestive. There they lag (actually they are ego-centric). They are reactions in or against inherited religion and life experience—not reactions in or against society.

Binder makes four general points in conclusion:

I. They involve an expenditure of socio-religious energy which produces no adequate return in social values.

II. Their efforts result in maladjustment in the social process.

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\* The laws of God and man, it has been said, rarely run north of 53°. Christian Science follows 40°—so did prosperity.

III. They are deficient in social responsibility.

IV. They are the lengthened shadows of denominationalism. (Spokesmen of the major cults would, I think, reply, "Well, what of it? All we are after is to adjust our souls.")

Altogether a suggestive contribution to a great field of study and a sound piece of work. There is a good bibliography.

Auburn Theological Seminary.

Gaius Glenn Atkins.

## THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND

I, THE ENGLISH SCHISM, HENRY VIII (1509-1547).

By G. CONSTANT. Translated from the French by R. E. SCANTLEBURY. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1934. xxi, 531 pages. \$4.00.

This is a well documented account of the ecclesiastical changes during the reign of Henry VIII. Whether we regard it as good history or not will doubtless depend in some degree on whether we agree with the fundamental assumptions of the author, namely that the abolition of papal jurisdiction in England was a major catastrophe and its results lamentable fatalities. By far the best portions of the volume are those in which the author deals with persons with whom he is more or less in sympathy; that is, the opponents of the royal policy, such as Fisher and More, and the members of the moderate party, such as Gardiner and Tunstall.

In the chapter on dogma under Henry VIII the interesting thesis is advanced that, contrary to the oft-met assumption that the Ten Articles and the Bishops' Book looked toward Protestantism while the King's Book was a reaction in the Catholic direction, all are of a piece, equally Catholic, the King's Book being merely a more fully developed exposition of the earlier formularies. The author's demonstration would be convincing here were it not that Gardiner, who was a stalwart supporter if not in part author of the King's Book, protested vehemently against the Bishops' Book as an ambiguous compromise between the Protestant and Catholic parties (*see* Gardiner's *Letters*, pp. 350-2).

One of the author's primary conclusions, that concerning the nature of the royal supremacy, seems to the reviewer to be in part based on a misunderstanding of the remarks of Lord Chancellor Audeley, referred to on pp. 127-8; and his interpretation of Gardiner's position on the supremacy during a minority, on p. 364, is certainly based on a misunderstanding of Gardiner's views.

There are useful bibliographical summaries at the end of the book. In them Roman Catholic historians such as Lingard naturally receive more notice than some others, but it is not clear why a scholar, such as the author manifestly is, still accepts F. A. Gasquet as an altogether trustworthy authority, or includes Mr. Hilaire Belloc among historians of the Reformation.

Cambridge, Massachusetts

J. A. Muller.



## WILLIAM THE SILENT

A Record of the Celebration by the Church of the Four Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of the Great Prince of Orange, Champion of Civil and Religious Liberty. Prepared by EDGAR FRANKLIN ROMIG. Published by the Collegiate Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of the City of New York, 1934. xii, 84 pages, 8 vo.

This beautiful specimen of the printer's art consists of three main parts: an admirable sketch, in two chapters, of the life and work of the Prince by the editor—an expansion of his Phi Beta Kappa oration delivered in the chapel of Franklin and Marshall College, June 6, 1933; a detailed description of the unique "Solemn Service of Thanksgiving" held in the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas, New York City, Sunday afternoon, April 23, 1933, including the address of His Excellency, Dr. J. Herman Van Roijen, Netherlands Minister at Washington, and the Commemorative Sermon by the Rev. S. Parkes Cadman, D. D.; and lastly an account of other observances of the Quadricentennial held in various places in the United States, together with an impressive series of tributes to the Prince published at the time in religious magazines and in the secular press.

The little volume cannot be said to add much to the average reader's knowledge of the heroic Dutch leader; but the many authorities cited, and especially the editor's own interpretation of William's character and achievements, give an inspiring picture of one of the noblest figures of the sixteenth century and a fair idea of the value of his contribution to the cause of civil freedom and religious toleration in the modern world.

The work is adorned with twenty-five illustrations; among the most interesting being four portraits of the Prince, a number of venerable Dutch churches and other buildings, and the memorable relief of Leyden in 1574.

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## THE ESSENCE OF PLOTINUS

Compiled by GRACE A. TURNBULL. New York: Oxford University Press, 1934. xx, 303 pages. \$2.50.

Miss Turnbull has conscientiously performed a useful task in compiling and editing extracts from the *Six Enneads* of Plotinus, and Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus*. Although she has based her work on the translation of Stephen Mackenna, whose monumental edition was published in five volumes, she has compared the latter with the original Greek and introduced her own renderings and modifications. Besides, she has added an appendix, in which she has carefully traced the influence of Plotinus upon such great minds as those of St. Augustine, Dante, Schiller, Coleridge, Emerson, and Tennyson. Christian theology and particularly mysticism owe such a profound debt to Neoplatonism as a whole and above all to Plotinus, that it is a cause for rejoicing that in this abbreviated compass the work of the greatest of Neoplatonists is made accessible to the wider public.

Matthew Spinka.